GETTING IT ON WITH JESUS: A STUDY OF ADULT SOCIALIZATION

by

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CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ii

LIST OF FIGURES vi

Chapter

I. THE JESUS CULTURE 1

- Death of Flower Power
- The Age of Paranoia
- The Jesus Culture

II. TO BE OR NOT TO BE: THE SITUATION MAKES THE DIFFERENCE 26

- Socialization and Adult Socialization
- Organizational Socialization

III. IN AND OUT OF THE FISH BOWL: DESIGN THEORY AND METHODS 54

- Theory and Method: A Perspective
- Field Work: A Perspective
- Research Setting

IV. ENTRY: DESOCIALIZATION 85

- The First Day
- Day Two
- Wednesday--Sunday
- The First Week in Retrospect

V. INCLUSION: SOCIALIZATION 109

- Two Weeks--Three Months
- Sexual Role Stereotyping
- Pre-Marital Sex
- Politics
- Free Will

VI. DEVIANCE: THE WAY OUT 126

VII. STRUCTURE, STATUS AND SOCIALIZATION 136

- Coda

APPENDIX A: GLOSSARY OF TERMS 153

APPENDIX B: STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 155

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW RESULTS 162

REFERENCES: 188

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

1. Cross Classification of Variables in the Socialization Process 34

2. Interaction Combinations in Field Work 61

3. Organizational Hierarchy of the Christian Houses 138

Some turn to Jesus
And some turn to heroin
Some turn to rambling round
Looking for a clear sky
And a drinking stream
Some watch the paint peel off
Some watch their kids grow up
Some watch their stocks and bonds
Waiting for that big deal
American Dream

Joni Mitchell
from her song "Banquet"

CHAPTER I

THE JESUS CULTURE

All of us are in a constant state of transition. As we are born we enter a transition to death. As we leave childhood we enter a transition to adolescence and adulthood. We change schools, we leave home, we get married, have children, get divorced and remarried, and so the cycle turns full circle. But how do we adapt to all these transitions in life?

Sometimes we don't--sometimes they come so quickly that we simply cannot cope. Our body and minds "go on strike." Thus we find ourselves with nervous exhaustion and physical illness. But when we do succeed in making transitions in our lives, a process is set in motion where we leave old frames of reference and exchange them for new ones.

William James calls this an act of transformation and describes it as "whenever one's aim grows so stable as to expel definitively its previous rivals from the individual's life, we tend to speak of the phenomena . . . as a transformation." (p. 163) This study deals with how such transformations take place. The central question of this research is: How do people learn new perspectives as they make transitions in their lives?

In Social Science literature this process of social learning, where an individual learns what is expected of him in a society, organization, group, or family, is termed socialization. It is through this concept that we will frame our investigation in transitions.

This is an important area of inquiry for anyone interested in the human condition in the 1970's. The reason is that this is a time of unprecedented change which has brought about a need for those living in what Trist (1959) calls the "post industrial era" to make more and more transitions in their lives.

Toffler (1970), Bennis and Slater (1970), and Packard (1972) have all pointed to the type of society and pathologies such constant transitions induce. Yet there is very little research to build an understanding of how people go about dealing with such social impermanence. This study seeks to bridge that gap by developing data showing how a group of people who have undergone a dramatic life transition learn new ways of behaving in integrating a new culture into their life style.

In the conduct of this inquiry I have chosen to study a particular group of people who have radically redesigned their lives. I am referring to the young people who call themselves Jesus Freaks. Their transition has been dramatic. In a few short years, for some only months, they have converted the fiber of their lives going from a culture of drugs, free love, and do your own thing to one that is laced with religious dogma, highly controlled, sex and drugs abstinence, and dependent relationships. This is an extreme case of life transitions but one in which the socialization processes should be magnified to the point of clearer understanding.

In the following subsections of this chapter I would like to set the stage for this research by discussing the contemporary cultural history that has given rise to the emergence of the Jesus Freaks and then present a general introduction to the Jesus Culture.

Death of Flower Power

In 1966 they had come to the Haight-Asbury in San Francisco, migrants from all over the country. Their hair was long, they enjoyed drugs, sex, and loud music. They spoke of love, peace, and brotherhood--they were young. By 1970 all that remained was the rip-off artist, the "hype," the tourist, and the dead. In less than four years consciousness III (Reich 1970) had risen and then submerged back to the isolated communes of Taos, Morning Star and others. The "Hippie" was gone, replaced by the "acid fascism" of Manson, the occult, Jesus, and Satan.

The reasons for such rapid cultural transitions are complex and many, but underneath them all lies what seems to be the homostasis of the American psyche. Bob Greene (1973), in a recent article, described this as a process of becoming "shock proof." He said

> We quit caring about things after we saw a president get shot in the head after we saw a war built on calculated lies, after we saw people of our own age getting beaten by police because they knew about those lies. During those years, one real shock came after another, until finally we could not feel anything, and we called for an end to the little hypocrisies, for an end to one generation's telling another what it could and could not do. Surprisingly, the older ones were instinctively willing to go along with us, because they were feeling just as empty as we were by what the '60's had done. And before we knew it, we really were in an age of Anything Goes: "Nothing is wrong or immoral if no one gets hurt," we said and we believed it. "If it feels good, that's cool." (p. 95)

This new "Millennialism," as Peter Marin (1972) calls it, among the young was a desperate response to this mixture of public chaos and private isolation. The hippies of 1966 became the alienated acid freaks of the 70's with nowhere left to turn. They had participated in the death of one culture and the rise of another. It is necessary to look back and try to gain perspective upon this time so that we may understand what is the present and the future.

To understand Jesus Freaks we must also understand the death of flower power.

I suppose we can say the beginning was in 1960 at Cuernavace, Mexico when Tim Leary swallowed seven "magic mushrooms." From that point on the world was never the same. Leary, the college professor, was kicked out of Harvard in 1963 for experimenting with and advocating the use of L.S.D. Soon he became the apostle of "Turn On, Tune In, Drop Out." The times were right, the place right, and the people came to make it happen. By 1965 San Francisco, California had become the mecca for those buying Leary's scene. San Francisco was a microcosm that was particularly tolerant of deviance. It was the home of North Beach and had spawned the Beatnik movement. For the people of San Francisco those new young immigrants were another curiosity that would soon pass.

But soon never came. By 1966 a full colony of the now labeled "Hippies" had moved into the Haight-Asbury district of the city. Led by such characters as pop writer, Ken Kesey, and his band of "Merry Pranksters," and an acid rock group called the Grateful Dead, these young people set up a life style that most observers found free and easy. Drugs were plentiful, there was always a place to sleep, and there was a real sense of community.

After that first summer of 1966 the Haight began to change. This was due to two basic problems. The first is easy to explain. America was now at war and the Vietnam issue had become the burning question among America's youth. The draft was breathing down the neck of every eighteen-year old male not in school, so that many of those who were formerly Haight people went back to school or joined the political protest across the bay at Berkeley.

The second reason is not as easy to explain. It seems every time something human and of direct experience occurs in this country a dialectic is engaged which destroys it. The process goes something like this. Someone outside the mainstream of society discovers a process, place or happening that is a sensual living experience for that person(s). This is then discovered by the media which broadcasts it to the world, which recognizes the "coolness" of what is happening and so adopts this for themselves, thus destroying what was once sensual by making it chic. Whether it's long hair or smoking marijuana, the process is the same. This is what happened with the Haight.

As Hunter Thompson (1972), the pop journalist describes it:

> What happened in the Haight echoed earlier scenes in North Beach and the Village . . . and it proved, once again, the basic futility of seizing turf you can't control. The pattern never varies: a low-rent area suddenly blooms new and loose and human--and then fashionable, which attracts the press and the cops at about the same time. Cop problems attract more publicity, which then attracts fad-salesmen and hustlers--which means money, and that attracts junkies and jack-rollers. Their bad action causes publicity and--for some perverse reason--an influx of bored, upward mobile types who dig the menace of "white ghetto" life and whose expense account tastes drive local rents and street prices out of reach of the original settlers . . . who are forced, once again, to move on. (1971)

By 1968 the Haight-Asbury was in social decay. Murder, rape, and overdoses were the mark of the new culture. It had become the first tombstone erected to signal the death of the good times.

But if the Haight was the tombstone, then the other climatic events were the grave of this era. These were the riots at the 1968 Chicago Democratic Convention and the killing of students at Kent State in Ohio.

They were all there . . . Rennie Davis, David Dellinger, Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, Tom Hayden, Bobby Seale, the S.D.S., and the new M.O.B. They had come to Chicago to lead protests against this country's involvement in the Vietnam war. Behind them stood thousands of young people who were there for varied reasons, ranging from radical terriorism to supporting McCarthy for president. But with the help of national television and Daley's cops, this turned out to be one of those events that move cultures to transition.

Chicago must be seen in perspective. The major villain had taken himself out of the picture on April Fools eve. When Lyndon Johnson announced he would not run for re-election, Kennedy and McCarthy were left to slug it out against Johnson's stand-in, Hubert Humphrey. The campaign was hard fought, bitter and excessive. All three men came into the Los Angeles primary committed to the jugular of the other two. And then it was all over. Kennedy had won the election but had been shot dead. It was all over except the bitterness and frustration which was brought to Chicago.

The events built up around the convention. The kids hassled the cops, the cops responded with arrests and clubs. By Monday, the 25th of August, the scene was set for the battle of Chicago. In a dramatic report Jan Wenner (1972) documented the happenings of Chicago including the trial of the Chicago Seven. Here is his description of what took place on August 25th:

> Monday, the 25th of August: Rubin and Hoffman began conducting "workshops" in the park for marshals in case a march were to be permitted. Hayden went to see what was happening. Through the crowd, which included 40 marshals, came two plainclothesmen and two uniformed pigs, with a warrant for Hayden's arrest on the tire thing. They took him quietly out of the middle of the vicious, riotous revolutionary Yippie crowd, without incident.

The Government somehow failed to charge that Hayden got himself arrested in order to provide an excuse for the march, so we can presume that the "Free Hayden" march that formed in the park was genuinely spontaneous. Rennie Davis reached the scene as the march was beginning, and hurried along the route from Lincoln Park to police headquarters, negotiating with the police all the way to insure peaceful, non-violent passage. Since it was downtown, the pigs went along. From the completely surrounded police headquarters ("wall-to-wall pig" somebody said), the crowd moved to Grant Park, near the Hilton.

In Grant Park, on a slight rise--maybe 20 feet at most--is a statue of Major General Jonathan Logan on a horse. Maybe you remember the TV photos. The people at the front of the crowd, still in a pretty good mood, let out a yell and cheerfully ran to "liberate" the statue--by climbing up on it and draping flags on it.

Horror and sacrilege--and besides there are no shop windows and no innocent passersby in Grand Park. The pigs immediately charged the hill, and--not being particularly stupid--the people on the statue got down and got the hell out of there. Except for this straight, short-haired kid with white sneakers, who got stuck: Lee Edmonson of Birmingham, Alabama, a McCarthy volunteer who couldn't see anything wrong with a little horsing around in the park.

Somebody who had been around Chicago for a while spotted a man named Elrod who was known to be Daley's man in charge of making sure the cops didn't fuck up too much. Hold back the pigs, they told Elrod, and the kids will get loose and surrender to arrest. Elrod, agreed, and called off the cops--but for the first time (and far from the last) the pigs were out of control. Their superiors couldn't stop them as four of them dragged Edmonson off the statue and beat on him; in the process of pulling him down, they had to deal with the fact that his arm was stuck, which they did by breaking it.

Dave Dellinger made a speech in the park about Hayden's being in jail. Others joined him. The demonstrators took off back to Lincoln Park, with one tiny splinter group running into a brief altercation with the pigs. More clubs to break up another peaceful march.

This time somebody tried to put up "barricades" in the park--too many movies and too much reading about Paris. It was a pitiable attempt with a few benches and some wastebaskets. This time, too, a police car was caught in the crowd, and for the first time there was something you could call a physical attack on police, who by now had completely earned it. Missiles hit the car, people closer up to it broke its windows. Whether from fear or from magnificent discipline, the pigs just sat still and watched; nobody hurt them, and after a while they were able to get the car started and slowly drive out of the crowd.

That night--Monday night (Hayden was out of jail, but not on hand)--the cops drove the crowd out of Lincoln Park with tear gas, and that night there wasn't any fading off into side streets. Down the side streets, more pigs were waiting. They boxed the kids, and anyone else who happened to be on the street. They were clubbing, not arresting. A middle-aged straight guy walking with two old ladies, trying to find a place to get out of the way, was knocked down with a rifle butt. Pigs went into bars and restaurants and threw the patrons out into the streets--regardless of age or length of hair or dress--and other pigs beat them up for being on the streets. Four pigs stopped an open Corvette moving down the street with two crewcut young men in it and clubbed the two for 30 seconds.

IT WAS A TOTAL, COMPLETE POLICE RIOT. Rocks were thrown at the pigs--anything was thrown that might slow them up a minute, to give somebody a chance to get away. Any violence by the people was defensive. Later, when it had calmed down and people had somehow gotten off the streets or out of the neighborhood, a reporter counted 500 police still visible in the area.

Meanwhile, back near the Hilton, Hayden was walking along with a couple of McCarthy staff members, who invited him up to their room. The hotel manager barred him from the lobby. Walking away, he was suddenly jumped by his plainclothes "tail" and a uniformed pig wrestled him to the ground and pounded. Half stunned and bleeding, he was tossed into a paddy wagon. At the station he was charged with aggravated assault for allegedly spitting on a cop. (pp. 242-44)

The events of Chicago reinforced those who saw this country as immoral and corrupt. In addition, it brought with it the alienation of a large group of young white middle-class students who heretofore, had sat on the fence, not involving themselves in the Vietnam protest. In Chicago's aftermath, this group began to participate more and more in the demonstrations across the country. This trend led to the third event that seemed to signal the end of what had started in 1966 at San Francisco.

Kent State with its new buildings and masses of students is one of those large state universities that adorns much of this country's landscape. Post Chicago, Kent State's student body had become more militant on the issue of Vietnam. One afternoon this exploded in death. The report of the incident is as follows:

> The Guards had run out of tear gas and were retreating up the hill, to the left of Taylor Hall, when some of the students began to throw rocks. "They were pretty small and I didn't see anybody get hit bad . . . mostly in the feet," Ruffner says, but the cries had now become "Pigs off campus!" and "Fuck the pigs!" and then one Guardsman stopped running. He turned, picked up a rock and threw it back. For a moment it was silent and the Guards reached the top of the hill, near the Wishing Well. Quickly, they turned, it looked like a maneuver to Ruffner, and four of them dropped in a line, others were kneeling and some were standing, like a Revolutionary War tableau. They were pointing their rifles up in the air, down at the ground, and some straight ahead. People were yelling "It's only blanks!" but then an explosion seemed to crack the rifle barrels, the sound lasting a long time,

> 35 rounds going off at once, and bodies were falling all around.
>
> "I couldn't believe it," Ruffner remembers. "I dropped down on top of my cameras up near Taylor. When I looked up a lot of people were crying and the Guards were marching away, down toward the Commons. I saw this one kid (Jeffrey Glenn Miller, 20) lying on his face in the road and there was a lot of blood. There was no question that he was dead. A girl was screaming.
>
> Later Ruffner heard the Guards talking about it, and they were "really messed up. One of the older Guards told one kid: 'This must be your first campus.' He said his unit had been in 'battle conditions' in Hough and Murray Hill, two neighborhoods in Cleveland where racial rioting had occurred last year."
>
> Anthony Parisi, a thin, black-haired sophomore was out in front of Taylor Hall with his portable unit, covering the demonstration for WKSU, the student radio station. He too fell to the ground when the shooting started, but remembers that the nearest students were at least 20 feet from the Guardsmen, not "six to 12 feet away" as Adjutant Del Corso has insisted:
>
> "I didn't see anyone throwing big rocks (Brigadier Canterbury told the press the students were throwing 'rocks the size of baseballs'), and I don't think their lives were in danger. There were a couple of thousand kids around but only a few hundred were actually throwing things and the Guard could have called for reinforcements . . .
>
> "I talked to one Guard later--before they were told they couldn't speak to students or newsmen--and he was really upset. He kept saying he hadn't wanted to kill anybody." (pp. 299-300)

The decay of the Haight-Asbury, Chicago, and Kent State symbolized the transition of a culture from joyous sensuality to alienation and despair. For those that had lived through these events, the 1970's were a time of peril and fear. The old ways of peace, love, dope, and revolution had done little more than surface the hypocrisy of a system they could neither understand nor cope with. It was a time of survival. Just as Woodstock with its surging energy had turned into the nightmare of the Stone's concert at Altamont. It was a time to echo Jagger's plea in the movie version of those same insane scenes--"Gimmee Shelter."

Into this vacuum came a number of hype artists who traded on the young's sense of insecurity and fear. It became a time when fascism was respected. "Don't worry about anything, just do as you are told," was the order of the day. It was the Age of Paranoia (Lombardi 1972) and the stars were Charlie Manson, and a number of Ministers selling Jesus. The following subsection discusses this linkage presenting the unfolding of the Jesus Movement.

The Age of Paranoia

In 1968 Charlie Manson was out of the "slams" living in the Haight-Asbury. He had been in prison two-thirds of his life. His mother was a prostitute and he never knew his father. Now he was scarfing up on drugs, free love, and the excitement of the acid rock scene in San Francisco.

By 1969 Charlie had collected around him a strange band of misfits he called a family. They were all young, mostly female, living at the Old Spahn Movie Ranch. And then on Thursday night, August 7, Charlie let loose the

"Paranoia Brigade." Susan Atkins, Tex Watkins, Linda Kasabian, and Katie Krenwinkel dressed in black clothes, stoned on acid, and armed with knives and a gun drove to 10050 Cielo Drive and proceeded to commit mayhem. They slashed, shot and mutilated Sharon Tate, Jay Sebring, Voitych Frykowski, and Abigail Folger. The next night Charlie joined in an expanded version of the Paranoia Brigade which struck in the Silver Lake district of Los Angeles. They left Leno LaBianca dead in his kitchen with a meat fork in his chest and his wife, Rosemary, stabbed to death in a bedroom nearby.

The rest is gruesome history that was exploited and oversold by the media. Manson and the family were captured in Death Valley, later tried and convicted for the Tate/LaBianca murders. That is the story that is familiar to most of us. But there is another story that has greater importance to our understanding the rise of the Jesus Movement. It is the story of Charlie's philosophies and how he used them to convince young people that it was their duty to murder.

Basically, Charlie's world view was a bizarre eclectic built upon the occult, especially Satanism, the psychology of Transactional Analysis, and the Bible. (Sanders 1971) In his years at prison he had plenty of time to think, and what he came up with was a powerful spiel that was right for the times. It captured the fear and loneliness that so many young people were feeling.

The Manson "rap" was based upon a perverse doctrine of the Child Mind. A concept he probably acquired from his intensive study of Eric Berne's Transactional Analysis (Berne 1961). In this book Berne describes the ego states of man. One of these is the child, which Berne suggested as the creative, spontaneous side of all of us. With this Charlie mixed a strong interest in group therapy coming up with a psychology that was right for the manipulation he sought.

But the most pervasive of Charlie's dogma was his internalization of his belief that he was Jesus and Satan as one. The basis for the Jesus rap, as Ed Sander (1971) describes it, was: "Jesus and his followers were much like Charlie and the girls. For this is what they believed about Jesus: Ninety years after Christ, priestly creeps killed off the loving sensual-sexual Christians, thus annihilating the original impulse and substituting for the original their own black robed sexless death-breaths."

This point of view was the result of Charlie's association with a dooms-dayer death cult called the Process. Under the leadership of Brother Ely, the Process had crossed the Atlantic from London landing in Los Angeles.

It brought a strange doctrine of Satan, fundamentalist religion, and death.

In an interview Brother Ely (Sanders 1971) describes the Process's philosophy. "Christ and Satan through love dissolved the enmity that existed between them and the unity of Christ and Satan is what the process is all about. They've come together to usher in the end of the world." (p. 73) This translated to "Mansonese" comes out sounding like:

> "If God is One, what is bad? Satan is just God's imagination. Everything I've done for these nineteen hundred and seventy years is now in the open. I went into the desert to confess to God about the crime I, you, Man has committed for 2,000 years. And that is why I'm here. As a witness.
>
> I have been avoiding the cross for nineteen hundred and seventy years. Nineteen hundred and seventy nails in the cross. I was meant to go up on the cross willingly.
>
> All the wars, all the deaths, all the hunger of these nineteen hundred and seventy years of blasphemy against Jesus Christ, all the shame and guilt, all the torture, they can't hide it any longer. And unless you are willing to die for your love, you cannot love. Jesus Christ died for your sins and for my sins, and for nineteen hundred and seventy years I have been denying Him. (Felton, Dalton 1972, p. 57)

This doctrine was translated into a form of rationalistic determinism in which all acts were deemed right because they were of Jesus-Charlie. It is a similar point of view, as we shall soon see, that pervades the culture of the Jesus Freaks. It was the message that began to hit the streets in the Sunset Strip just after Charlie's capture. On any warm summer night in 1970 you could find some apostle of Manson talking of brotherhood through the unification of Satan and Jesus.

But without Charlie the Family didn't sell. What they did do in their missionary work was draw a number of the fundamentalist churches that were now catering to the young in the hip L.A. scene onto the streets. Soon the Sunset Strip was a cauldron of a few Manson people, Satanists, The Process, and a lot of Jesus Freaks. It was a circus that represented culmination of what had begun in the early sixties and now was officially dead. It was the time of pop facism. Jesus was happening now. He rode in on the coat-tails of hippies, Vietnam and Charlie Manson.

In the end, some of Charlie's followers moved to the more conservative Jesus Freaks. They ended up as they started, substituting one diety for another. As one young interviewee on the Sunset Strip claimed, "I had been at Spahn Ranch and lived with Charlie. I was confused. I thought he was Jesus. He lied, but now I've found the real Lord and I am going to tell everyone about Him." Susan Atkins or Tex Watkins might have also been Jesus Freaks (their personal background is similar to that of most Jesus Freaks I studied) if they had met another apostle along the road rather than Charlie. But now they were behind bars facing life sentences, never knowing that Charlie was not Jesus.

The Jesus Culture

The straight church damned them, even Billy Graham thought their religion was in excess but still the Children of God attracted new members. Unlike most of the other organizations formed around the new Jesus Freak Movement, the Children of God did not start in Southern California. Their beginning was in Texas and Washington State where the leader David Berg, soon to be known as Moses, formed a solid group of family and friends into the most radical and largest of the Jesus Freak organizations--The Children of God.

The Children of God, who number about 2,000 and are located now primarily in communes in the Northwest, have had rough times of late. In the past year because of a split with a sponsor, the Rev. S. Fred Jordan, the Children have been kicked out of their locations in Texas, Los Angeles, and Coachella in California. This is the reason for the migration north. But their problems haven't been just with Jordan. Parents of converts living with the Children have claimed they use hypnosis and devious techniques to keep their Children virtually captive in their service to God. Some parents in efforts to get their children home claim they have been physically attacked.

In a recent interview that appeared in a campus newspaper Paul Woodward, a university student told the story of his stay with the Children of God.

> "I can describe what happened, but not my feelings about it." Woodward said in an interview in his dorm room. "When one of the guys in the park talked to me, he made me feel guilty about being a Christian. You see, I've been a Christian for four years, and he made me like I wasn't doing my duty. That made me very susceptible.
>
> "A lot of people say I may have been drugged and things like that. I never saw any drugs. I did eat and drink. It was something like an instant conversion. The second I said I'd go with them, I was always in the middle of the group."
>
> He had a good time in their Los Angeles commune. It was like a retreat for him. He's get up in the morning and sing and dance and study the Bible. The food was pretty good--sandwiches, fruit, chocolate milk. He happened to have $60 in his pocket from a loan, but they never asked him for any money.
>
> But a month passed, and Woodward has had a chance to remember the experience through different perspectives.
>
> "If the Children of God are what they say they are, then they're living a utopia. If it was a true thing, I'd go right back." But he won't go back because something just doesn't fit.
>
> For one thing, he was under a time delusion. He never knew what time it was. The leaders bothered him too. He couldn't figure out what made them different from the rest of the group.
>
> "Now that I look back at it, I can see that the leaders were normal people. Everyone else had no emotion but love. But the leaders would come up to you and point, and no one else pointed. They'd talk with their hands and get excited and argue among themselves."
>
> By the fifth day he was with them, Woodward had only one doubt about remaining with the group. On the questionnaires that were passed out daily, Woodward wrote under spiritual fulfillment that he still had questions about the leaders. After that

his contact lenses were gone.

He was careful to wrap the lenses up and put them in his shoe every night, but he said that they could have been lost. His doctor thinks that the lenses might have been taken away to make his eyes more responsive to hypnosis. But all Woodward knows is that from that time on, he couldn't see very well.

Sept. 25, the day after Woodward joined the Children, the Rev. J. Fred Jordan, their sponsor, ordered the leaders of the groups in Coachella and Los Angeles to leave because they were preaching anti-establishment doctrine.

Mr. Jordan, an independent Protestant minister, provided the Children of God with living facilities in Los Angeles, Texas and Coachella, in Riverside County. He raised over $98,000 for them through his Sunday morning Church in the Home television program.

The rest of the Children of God were allowed to remain, but they followed their leaders. The Los Angeles group camped out in MacArthur Park for three days. "The leaders all laughed at Jordan and called him a fool," Woodward recalled.

"They preached against materialism, but when they were moving out of the Fifth and Towne commune, it took them two days to get their darned materialistic frozen food and band equipment out of the building."

A KABC television crew drove up to MacArthur Park Sept. 29 to film a short feature story about the group's leaving Los Angeles.

Because of his poor vision, Woodward didn't realize that he was being photographed as he sang with several of the Children in the park. There were three close-ups of his face on the evening news.

Woodward's mother and four of her friends were sitting around the living room. For the first time in a week, the television news was turned on. And right there was the missing son, squinting and singing his heart out.

They made it in a station wagon from Long Beach to MacArthur Park in 15 minutes, in rush hour traffic. The police at MacArthur Park told them that the Children had gone back over to the skid row building at Fifth and Towne. "So my mother and her friends planned a little invasion," Woodward said.

"The police had tried to find me, but they didn't do too much. Without my knowledge, the group told the police that I wasn't with them."

There were about 120 kids loading things out of the building when Woodward's mother and her friends parked on the north side. Woodward was on the south side of the commune, studying the Bible in a bus that was going to leave for Santee in 30 minutes.

"Michael, a good friend of the family, got out and talked to some of the leaders. One of them came up on the bus and told me that someone wanted to see me. Michael was smart enough to look for himself in all the buses.

"I was about to run out and see who it was, and the brother grabbed me and said, 'Let's pray now.' We went through a little prayer, asking God to protect me. Then Michael spotted me, and about five brothers, or bodyguards, got around me.

"Michael took it on a factual basis that I was drugged, or at least brainwashed. So he tried to program me. He said that my family wanted me for two days and kept repeating it. This turned out to be important."

Michael led Woodward off the bus, followed closely by the five brothers. Michael's plan was to force the boy into the car next to his mother and take off immediately.

"They were ready to run over anyone who was in their way." said Woodward.

Through the car window, his mother grabbed his hand and started crying. He told her that he couldn't go back and that he hated the system. "My mother realized that it wasn't me talking. I'd never said anything like that before.

"As she talked to me, she did things which I can't remember now. She waved her hand in front of my eyes and I didn't blink or anything."

In their excitement and confusion, Woodward's mother and her four friends fumbled their first getaway.

"My one remaining bodyguard realized that he was being purposefully distracted by Marge, the gabber, and threw her against the car. The brother told me to run, which I promptly did."

Michael chased Woodward back into the middle of the crowd, and lifted the boy onto his shoulders. The middle-aged man thought he was risking his life as Woodward began to chant, "I'm being kidnapped, I'm being kidnapped."

"When I said the second kidnap, everyone dropped what they were doing, these 120 kids, and came running at us like they were going to kill us. It was

> amazing. I couldn't believe it."
>
> Realizing what was about to happen, Woodward momentarily snapped out of it and screamed "Stop!" as loud as he could.
>
> "They all just stopped and stood there, as if they were waiting for the next command. I'm not sure whether they stopped because I said the command, or because they thought that the leaders, who were next to us, said it. But everything just stopped as though it was frozen animation."
>
> Then Woodward suddenly lapsed back into dazed confusion when Michael put him down. The leaders asked him if he really wanted to leave.
>
> "Because Michael had said two days about a hundred times, I mechanically told the leaders that I was just going away for two days. I was very positive that I was going to go back to the group. Although they said I could leave any time, they looked a little shocked." (Short, November 12, 1972)

This sort of problem is not unique with just the Children of God. Parental groups have emerged which meet on a regular basis in an effort to get their kids back home. This struggle has become so intense and desperate that some parents are resorting to guerrilla warfare to combat the Jesus Freaks.

In a recent article in the Los Angeles Times, Mike Goodman (Dec. 4, 1972) describes what has been termed "Deprogramming of Jesus Freaks." Although the deprogrammers are aiming at wresting children away from all of the Jesus communes, the Children of God is their main target. Goodman describes the process as parental kidnapping where parents clandestinely spirit their children away from the commune to a pre-arranged motel. They are met there by a deprogramming team which begins a process of group therapy and counter brainwashing to get the kid's mind back to "reality." The parents sleep across the door to prevent escape. So far the deprogrammers have had near 100% success in their efforts.

The Jesus Freak organizations are countering these activities by charging the parents with infringing upon the Constitutional rights of the people that they are deprogramming. But, nevertheless, the parents maintain this deprogramming will go on come hell or high water.

Although the Children of God represent the radical wing of the Jesus Freak Movement, they do serve as an accurate introduction to the happenings of the New Jesus Culture. Most of the other communes are not as dogmatic as the Children but they do follow a life style which is very similar. In recent months the Children have generated a lot of attention in the media. There are now several books in the offing that describe the life style of the Children. Because so much attention is being paid to them it is hard to capture the gestalt of the Jesus Movement without it sounding like a replay of the Children of God.

Fortunately, there have been two sociological studies done on the Jesus Freak Movement and neither include data from the Children of God. In an effort to round out what we presently know about the Jesus Culture, it would be beneficial to the reader to summerize these studies.

Both studies were reported about the same time and similar methods of data collection (observations and structured interviews) were used. The first study was done by Adams and Fox (1972) in the second largest Jesus organization in the country. The second study was done by Harder, Richardson, and Simmonds (1972) where they reported findings on an agricultural Jesus Commune.

The major findings from each study were remarkably similar. In both, commune life was dominated by males. Women had no role other than that of servants. Each commune was run upon similar structural assumptions with all decision-making power being vested in the hands of Jesus. No decision was left to the individual; whatever happened happened and was the will of God.

The bulk of the data presented in both studies was aimed at identifying the characteristics of those who convert. For example, both studies showed those converting had a number of sexual experiences, but after entry into the commune found sex, out of marriage, unacceptable. There was evidence showing both populations had become politically conservative and that the large majority had been former drug users.

The data presented in both studies is not startling and follows hypotheses that one would draw if trying to anticipate the type of individual converting to Jesus. Neither study developed any theoretical orientation, although the Harder (et al.) research did attempt some generalizations regarding the sexual roles of commune members. But these data were never really developed.

These studies do point out some of the salient features of the Jesus Culture and are a good springboard for what is to follow. In summary, I have attempted to fix the rise of the Jesus movement in the perspective of a number of galvanizing events that took place in the mid and late 1960's. I am sure if someone else had interpreted this segment of contemporary cultural history, he would have identified other events as important. But for me, the passing of the Hippie to the Jesus Freak was all wrapped up in the death of the Haight-Asbury, the Chicago Democratic Convention riots, the killings at Kent State, and the rise of the psychology of fear and paranoia that was exemplified by Charles Manson.

In the following pages I will explain the process that completes this transition in cultures. The research will be aimed at describing what happens to a person once he decides to become a Jesus Freak. It is a study of socialization, but also it is research that contributes to the understanding of contemporary social phenomena.

CHAPTER II

TO BE OR NOT TO BE: THE SITUATION MAKES THE DIFFERENCE

Life in the Jesus community is based upon one unifying activity--converting individuals, especially young adults, to the ways of Jesus. From Sunday church service to the Saturday night Jesus rock concert, the search goes on for those who still remain unsaved. There is no higher status among community members than to have been the one to convince a person to join their ranks. The purpose of community life, then, is to be found in the process of conversion and commitment of these individuals to the community attitudes and values.

The recruitment of new members poses a central problem--the inclusion and acculturation of these individuals into the community. Once the person decides to convert his past modes of behavior become, at best, irrelevant and in most cases dysfunctional. Gone are many of the familiar aspects of his old life style--television, books, old friends, relative personal freedom, drugs, and others; he must replace these conditions with Bible study, strict codes of behavior, rituals, and a rigidly programmed day. To say the least, the recruit faces a completely different culture and the need to adjust his behavior to fit the new situation. To facilitate this transition, the community must provide the mechanisms that will transfer the recruit into a trusted member. The survival of the Jesus Community depends upon this most important activity--the process of social learning or socialization as it is described in the literature.

In other words, the new recruit not only satisfies the evangelical mission of the community, he also represents the input for building a viable human organization. As in any other society, the Jesus community faces the day to day realities of group life. Food must be prepared, decisions made, housework done, money and resources obtained, etc. With these chores left to the old timer the community would soon disintegrate because of the relatively high rate of turn over found within the community. The new members are needed to carry out the maintenance activities that keep the community alive. The recruitment and socialization of the individual in the Jesus community is the very essence of its survival and, therefore, our prime area of focus. In this chapter we will further develop the concept of socialization, concentrating on adult socialization in particular and, as a result, outlining the perspectives that anchored this research.

I. Socialization and Adult Socialization

Adult socialization can be best defined as a more specific form of the general socialization process that begins at birth. Viewed from a broad perspective, socialization is a process which enables a society, organization, or group to mold individuals so that they are suited to the functional requirements of that particular system. (Presthus 1962) Even though the occurrence of socialization has been recognized historically, the social and psychological processes through which it happens have been only recently treated as the object of methodological and sustained inquiry. (Merton 1957) The paucity of research is due, in essence, to the fact that (1) there has been a general dispersion and confusion of socialization research through the social sciences; and (2) there exists a conceptual conservatism in approaches to adult socialization.

The investigation into the process of adult socialization has been, at best, sporadic. For example, Psychology, Sociology, and Anthropology were all involved in developing paradigms of adult socialization which resulted in three varied approaches to the field. First, Psychology focuses on the development of individual characteristics relevant to social behavior and the basic processes through which these behavioral tendencies are learned. Second, Sociology concentrates on the characteristics of specific groups or institutions in which socialization occurs and on the common social skills acquired by individuals in varying contexts. Last, Anthropology views the process from a wider cultural perspective establishing the boundaries for socialization experience. As a result of this confusion, the research is so fragmented that there has been little convergence of viewpoints in the literature.

On the second point, exploring adult socialization requires an expanded view of the developmental process. Until the last century socialization dealt almost exclusively with child development. Early studies were anchored in the processes of physical and mental maturation, not socialization. (Brim 1968) Not until the works of Levy (1943), Sears and his colleagues (1956), and Whiting (1963) did the focus of socialization become emotional and social.

However, even as progress was being made in approaching socialization in a more coherent and social/ psychological manner, some social scientists still assumed that adults did not fit into the picture because most of the socialization theories allowed little room for personal change after childhood.

This conservatism was due to the pervasion of psychoanalytic and neopsychoanalytic models in explaining the changes in adult behavior. Drawing heavily upon the works of Freud and others, these schools assumed the primacy of early childhood experiences as the locus of the determinants of behavior. They believed that once these keys to behavior were fixed in a sense of self, they became a stable feature of personality which did not change over time. Changes in adult behavior were explained as mere adjustments to countervailing forces with the origin of behavior being traced back to the roots of early childhood psycho-mapping.[1]

It is hard to accept this deterministic point of view in light of the panorama of human existence and the multiplicity of behavioral choices. As Kenneth Gergen (1972) states:

> I believe we must abandon the assumption that normal development equips the individual with a coherent sense of identity. In the richness of human relations a person receives varied messages about who he is. The lessons are seldom connected and they are often inconsistent.

Brim (1966) also vigorously argues this point when he concludes that man has no deep personality characteristics which persist over all situations; and Erikson (1950) perceptively recognizes this same dynamic feature of adult socialization when he notes that, " . . . identity is never gained nor maintained once and for all." Indeed, these authors seem to be saying that the locus of human behavior is somewhere between the phenomenological sense of self and the social structural variables of reality.

From the above, then, adult socialization is a process by which individuals learn the appropriate roles for specific situations. The learning process is a dynamic one that involves both learner and the old timer in the organization. As Brim (1966) notes, adult socialization is "the manner in which an individual learns the behavior appropriate to his position in a group through interaction with others who hold normative beliefs about what his role should be and who reward or punish him for correct or incorrect action." (p. 9)

Hence, the learner assumes the role of the other (much like Roger's concept of empathy) and measures his own activity from that perspective. In so doing he develops mechanisms for interpreting lines of action for that particular setting. According to Brim (1966) this position leads to an analytic perspective of personality as a "learned set of self-other systems" which become increasingly complex as an individual is required to learn more and more roles throughout his lifetime. (Van Maanen 1972)

Using a simplified grammatical typology Brim theorizes that the self-other system is made up of the interactions generated from the "I, Me," "They, Me," and "I, Them" relationships. At the core of personality development and the socialization process is the "I, Me" type, where the person is both subject and object in the interaction. This form of acting with one's self gives rise to what Mead, Colley, and others have described elsewhere as the social self. By social self these authors are referring to the perspectives each of us uses in forming the ways we will behave in various situations. For example, before acting in a given situation, the person forms anticipated outcomes based upon how the others involved in the situation will act and how they will expect him to act. From this perspective, the person constructs his action.

Therefore, we find that the "I, Me" type is generated from a number of "I, Them," and "They, Them" relationships. However, the specific "they" or "them" is no longer recalled. This is very similar to Mead's (1930) concept of the "generalized other" in which the other over a number of years no longer refers to a single person or group of people, but has been generalized by the person to form a sense of self as others see him. An important consideration in the development of the generalized other is that the individual is synthesizing opinion held by significant others, that is, those people who are important to him, rather than just anyone. In Brim's words:

> The self-other relationship leads to an individual's appraisal of himself as being good or bad, according to the degree to which he lives up to another's expectations. The importance of the self-appraisal to the individual varies according to the significance of the other person's evaluation of him, which, in turn is based, in the last analysis on the degree to which the other controls (or once controlled) rewards and punishments. The consequence of self-appraisal and of perceived adequacies or inadequacies is to increase or decrease an individual's self-esteem. (p. 16)

Self-esteem, then, is developed out of the process of an individual pursuing certain levels of performance on a given activity and being judged by a significant other or through his social self.

As an individual continues through life he is faced with entering and exiting a number of groups and subcultures. As a result, the sense of self is never fixed and is in a state of constant evolution. Social linkages bring with them fresh role demands, which, in fact, may be contradictory to old ones, so that the person is continuously moving into new roles. Brim (1966) has gone farther than most with this concept of role change and postulates a very simple model that adds new insights to the process. In Brim's view role change is tied directly to the necessity of acquiring basic behavioral requisites the situation demands for the role to be performed satisfactorily. In his words:

> There are three things a person requires before he is able to perform satisfactorily in a role. He must know what is expected of him, he must be able to meet the role requirements, and he must desire to practice the behavior and pursue the appropriate ends. (p. 25)

So, before a person can make the necessary changes for inclusion in a new social situation he must learn the role required of him. Thus, the purpose of socialization is to give a person knowledge, ability, and motivation to perform as required in a specific social setting.

Brim's simple cross classification of these three variables with values and behavior establishes a paradigm that describes changes in the content of socialization as a person moves through the life cycle.

	BEHAVIOR	VALUES
KNOWLEDGE	A	B
ABILITY	C	D
MOTIVATION	E	F

Figure 1

Cells A and B indicate that the individual knows what is expected of him and what will be the final outcome of his behavior. E and F indicate that the individual is motivated to behave in the appropriate way and pursue the values that are generic to that situation. C and D indicate the individual is able to carry out the behavior required of him and to ascribe to the values of that group.

Cell F is the locus of socialization activity in childhood, the process where the basic drives of the infant are transformed into behavior which, eventually, can be funneled into appropriate social and cultural values. Childhood socialization, then is a product of manipulating basic needs, such as recognition and approval into broad socio/cultural values. In contrast, later life socialization focuses on a level of secondary needs and motives which are generated by the expectations of significant others. (Brim 1966, p. 26)

Cell A is the common locus of adult socialization. Society assumes that an individual has the ability and motivation to perform in a given setting. All that is needed is to teach him the appropriate forms of behavior, both cognitive and affective, and he will successfully fill the role requirements.

The line that this progression takes during the socialization process, according to Brim, begins with introducing the new recruit to the task he is asked to perform. He is then trained in the proper procedures for carrying out the specific task. If an individual can not do some things, the trainer seeks to upgrade his ability cell (C). If he is unwilling to carry out the task then training is aimed at motivating him (Cell D). And if the person doesn't seem to understand or to agree with values of the organization or group he is joining, then he is further educated in the ideological system of that culture (Cell B).

Only in the last analysis, after all socialization deficiencies have been ruled out, is it assumed that there is a problem in the motivational approaches in the valuing system. In such cases resocialization activities are attempted in an effort to bring these individuals into the fold. However, most of the time it is assumed that these people are beyond learning and,therefore, they are excommunicated from the general stream of group life, ridiculed and/or ignored.

This model of Adult Socialization postulated by Brim closely resembles the expectancy theory of Vroom (1964), Porter and Lawler (1964), and Fishbein (1957). Expectancy theory can be defined as a process in which the individual is motivated to perform a particular role, but only to the extent that he feels his performance will lead to favorable outcomes. Research has shown that recruits with degrees of positive expectations are much more successfully integrated into the organization than those with low expectations. (Porter 1972) Thus, socialization outcomes have a built-in self-fulfilling prophecy, that is the individual's perceptions of the way his performance of the new role will be rewarded and sanctioned.

Both Brim and the expectancy theorist view adult socialization primarily as a social activity to be carried out in the social institutions of a culture. For the adult, outside of the family, no more pervasive force exists in defining his role behavior than that of the organizations to which he belongs. Each individual sits at the center of a constellation of organizations to which he must relate. From job to recreation to peers, life is a process of learning the varied role expectations that these associations demand.

Organizational socialization, then, is of special interest to our examination of the field of adult socialization and for that reason the focus of the next section of this chapter.

II. Organizational Socialization

Caplow (1964) defines organizational socialization as: "An organizationally directed process that prepares and qualifies individuals to occupy organizational positions." In learning these new sets of behaviors the individual progresses through a series of role testing. He acts in a specific way in a particular setting and then gauges the reactions to his behavior from the perspective of the significant others of that group. From their reactions to his testing, their sanctions and rewards, he learns appropriate forms of behavior for the situation. Schien (1968) finds this process of learning the ropes common among persons learning new roles in organizations.

In addition to learning new forms of behavior the individual is also confronted with ridding himself of those behaviors that conflict with his new role demands. Caplow (1964) terms this the "price of membership." It is a process by which the individual purposely represses aspects of his previous behavior that are incongruent with the new expectations of the new organization. For example, the new recruit in the Jesus commune must exorcise himself of a whole set of behaviors centering around drugs, sex, language and use of free time, and replace them with those values and attitudes commonly held by the community.

Becker (1964) goes even farther and postulates a position of organizational socialization in which all behavior is antecedent to the situation we are placed in.

He notes:

> The person, as he moves in and out of a variety of social situations, learns the requirements of continuing in each situation and of success in it. If he has a strong desire to continue, the ability to assess accurately what is required, and can deliver the required performance, the individual turns himself into the kind of person the situation demands. (p. 259)

When considered in the broad perspective, Becker's concept of situational adjustment is much like Brim's self-other system. In that role, behavior is a product of learning the expectations of others. But Becker goes further in his analysis of adult socialization through the perspective of situational adjustment, thus developing a more finite level of understanding.

In terms of the total process of organizational socialization, Becker's concept of situational adjustments is somewhat limiting because it leaves no room for the individual to react in concert with the organization. If we expand his view by having the individual affect the organization through his own action, we can see adult socialization as a series of co-acting processes in which the individual initially adapts to new expectations thrusted upon him, and then after gaining membership begins to influence the organization. Schien (1968) refers to this action as innovation and points out it is the process whereby the individual influences the ways in which the organization operates. Porter (1971) further defines innovation as a process of individuation in which the person gains additional satisfaction from the organization, by influencing the system to satisfy his personal interest. Thus, the individual is seen as an acting unit coping with and influencing his environment, not just a passive being waiting for the organization to dictate its demands.

Schien (1968) further notes that while socialization takes place along a continuum of an individual's time in an organization, the crucial tension-producing point is the initial entry period. The person is faced with the clear possibility that his expectations are incompatible with reality, thus bringing into conflict past frames of reference and his present situation. As Hughes (1958) writes:

> The period of initiation into the role appears to be one in which the two cultures interact within the individual. Such interaction undoubtedly goes on all throughout life, but it seems to be more lively--more exciting and unforgettable, more self-conscious--in the period of learning and initiation. (pp. 119-120)

Phases of Organizational Socialization

In considering the nature of early socialization within organizations, we can identify distinct phases of activity that take place as the person prepares to move into the organization, as he encounters it, and finally as he is included as a full functioning member of that particular society.

1. Anticipatory Socialization:

Before each of us joins an organization or group we find ourselves, through daydreams, conversations, reading, etc., building up a scenario of what life will be like in the new situation. Merton (1957) refers to this as a process of "anticipatory socialization" where individuals take on the values of a non-membership group to which they aspire but do not belong. In Merton's view, anticipatory socialization serves two purposes. He states:

> For the individual who adopts the values of a group to which he aspires but does not belong, the orientation may serve the twin functions of aiding his rise into that group and of easing his adjustment after he becomes a part of it. (p. 265)

Merton supports this assertion by citing evidence from Stauffer's, et al., The American Soldier (1946), which found among other things, that those persons who accepted the official values of the Army hierarchy were much more likely to be promoted.

What Merton fails to recognize though is the consequences of anticipatory socialization that prove to be incompatible with reality. All of us develop scenarios that seem to fall short of expectations when applied to actual situations. Hence, a state of incongruency exists between what was expected and what is. It is here that anticipatory socialization actually decreases the chances of successful socialization into that group.

But even beyond that fact, it is important to recognize that an individual does not enter a situation as a mere reactor, as Becker would have us believe, but rather as a person who brings with him psychological baggage which influences the way he enters the group.

2. Entry:

When a newly recruited member enters a group or sub-culture, he is likely to experience what Hughes (1958) calls "reality shock." The effect of this unsettling period on the socialization process depends on how adept the individual has been at anticipating the various expectations of the group. If his projections are accurate, they will be confirmed during the process of socialization. But, if his projections are incongruent with the expectations of the group, the socialization process must include a period in which deviant perspectives are changed. Contingencies upon which this crucial phase of organizational socialization rest are the subject of this subsection and will be examined below.

(1) Organizational Influence:

As we have already seen, from Becker's work, there are strong psycho-socio dynamics associated with the type of situation a person encounters upon entry into the organization. A pervasive component of the situation is found within the organizational structure itself. In fact there are those students of organizational behavior that find that structure leads and forms most behavior. (Gardner 1970, Trist and Emmery 1958) The pivotal aspect of structural determinism is the degree to which the organization can influence the behavior, values and abilities of its new members. Usually this is a product of how control is exercised through the reward and sanction mechanisms of the organization. Etzoni (1961) has developed a typology based upon the nature of membership compliance to the organizational setting, with socialization being a product of the new member's expectations and the type of organization he enters. These types of organizations are:

1) Normative Organizations: are typified by expectations of high moral commitment to the mission of the organization. Socialization is seen as a process of the organization demanding an "expressive" level of behavior, in which congruency between the individual and organizational values, attitudes and motives is the goal.

2) Utilitarian Organizations: focus on "instrumental socialization" aimed at controlling overt behavior of members. The organization cares little about the values, beliefs and motives of the person as long as his action is congruent with those of the organization. Socialization is aimed at the knowledge needed to perform a special role.

3) Coercive Organizations: demand obedience from their members. Socialization is punishment oriented through alientation of the membership.

Another important typology for classifying organization socialization styles is that of total institutions. In Goffman's (1957) view total institutions have close to total control of their memberships. Exemplified by such organizations as prisons, asylums, old folks homes, etc. total institutions usually stress harsh forms of socialization, from which members have little choice of withdrawing. Shiloh (1971) suggests that initiates to these organizations are "profaned" by a standardized series of abasements and degradations. As the socialization process progresses tests of obedience are administered under tight supervision with negative performances being subject to severe sanctions including physical punishment.

Beyond organization types there are several other structural variables that influence socialization processes within an organization. One of these is the length of the formal socialization period. The longer the socialization process, the greater the likelihood that organizationally desired outcomes will become imbedded as motives and values in the new member. (Van Maanen 1972) Furthermore, the length of the indoctrination period influences the degree to which linkages of commitment and cohesion may be found. (Becker 1964, Kantner 1972)

A second important structural variable is whether the individual is processed collectively or individually. Evan (1963) has noted that successful socialization is often a product of peer influence. He notices that peer groups can perform the function of reducing strain and alleviating tension, thus easing the person's passage into the organization. Becker (1960) points out that collective perspectives arise only when individuals can see themselves in similar sets of circumstances and facing similar problems. Hence, collective socialization settings are effective mechanisms that encourage the development of group solutions to group problems.

(2) Group Process and Organization Socialization

Beside the structural considerations surrounding organization socialization the literature on social psychology contains impressive evidence about the influence groups have on the behavior of their members. (Asch, 1951; Newcomb, 1958; Sherif and Sherif, 1956; Cartwright and Zender, 1960; Teibult and Kelley, 1959; Newcomb 1966) state four conditions which facilitate the influence of a group on the individual. These are:

1) Size of Group: The smaller the group the more effective its influence on the individual;

2) Homogeneity of the Group: The more homogeneous the group the more effective its influence mechanisms;

3) Communicative Isolation: An isolated group is more influential because it controls the information exposed to the individual and does not have to compete for the person's attention from a number of organizations;

4) Importance of the Group: The more important the attitudes of the group to the individual, the more effective it will be in influencing him.

Related to Newcomb's concept of group influence is the notion of reference groups. The group that the individual aspires to is the reference group. Thus, be it real or imagined, the reference group structures performances through which the individual assigns meaning to his behavior. Throughout life an individual accumulates a number of reference groups--many at the same time. As Shibutani notes:

> For any individual, there are as many reference groups as there are channels of communications in which a person regularly becomes involved. (p. 138-139)

In the process of choosing reference groups the individual actually constructs paths of action that are products of how he interprets the group culture to which he identifies. Merton (1957) suggests that persons select reference groups on the basis of aspirations. Closely linked to this concept is Festinger's (1957) point that selection is based upon reference group attractiveness for the individual--the more attractive the group, the more

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likely it will be a reference group for that person.

What is often missed in the formulation of reference group theory is that all group members are not assigned similar status by the individual. Moore (1963) indicates that it is the role of the significant other that induces a new member to share the group's attitudes and beliefs. This fits Sullivan's (1953) concept of the significant other as the one who carries out the process of socialization. In addition, the manner in which the significant other carries out the socialization process will often dictate the amount of influence that group will have on the individual. As Shibutani (1962) states: " . . . those who felt they have been treated by another with affection and consideration essentially regard their personal obligation as binding." (p. 141)

The individual's initial period of entry into the organization, then, is a dynamic period of adjustment for the new member where his old attitudes and behavior are brought into conflict with the new demands of the organization. Socialization during this period is of prime importance with the manner in which it is carried out often dictating the future experience of that individual in the organization.

Now we will consider the last phase--inclusion--of the initial entry period into the organization. In this subsection, we will attempt to close the loop that culminates in the recruit receiving full membership rights or his exiting from the organization.

3. Inclusion:

The inclusionary process of organization socialization is what Becker, et al calls the "final perspective," that point in time where a new member must solve the problems discovered during the course of his first encountering the organization.

Porter (1971) has indicated three methods that organizations use to encourage people to change old behaviors and meet the new expectations of the organization. These are:

1) Reinforce and confirm new behaviors by providing rewards;

2) Punish deviant behavior through sanctions; and

3) Provide non-support for deviant behavior by just ignoring it. Porter has pointed out that because the last two strategies are negative in application, they do not reinforce positive behavior. In fact, they leave a residue of negative feelings within the individual. The first strategy, which is positive, usually leads to socialization outcomes that are much more satisfying to the new recruit.

Kelman (1961) has developed a paradigm of social influence that identifies three specific processes which manifest themselves in styles of inclusion into the organization. These are compliance, identification, and internalization. Compliance, the first style of social influence, occurs when the individual accepts influence from another person or group in an effort to please them. Closely resembling Roger's (1959) concept of "conditions of worth," the individual bases his behavior on what the other person or group wants him to be, rather than relying on his own valuing system. In this way, the individual is a social actor in the very best sense of the word and becomes a man for all situations. Thus, inclusion into an organization is based upon learning what is expected and then performing in the indicated manner.

The second style of social influence is that of identification. Identification is said to occur when an individual establishes a satisfying self-defining relationship with a person or organization. In this way the new recruit defines his own sense of self, in terms of his relationship with significant others. Kelman (1961) points out that the person in attempting to feel good about himself imitates those individuals that he respects and admires. Inclusion into the organization, then, is based upon the individual successfully developing a sense of self that concurs with the behavior of significant others.

Finally, there is the form of social influence known as internalization which leads to inclusion of the individual into the organization because he accepts the values and attitudes of the organization as being congruent with his own. This type of confluent influence is the most positive way in which an individual can enter an organization because of the harmony between what is demanded and what the individual believes.

Lewin (1935) and Schien (1968) view the process of inclusion as unfreezing old behaviors to substitute new ones. The reason for this, as we have noted elsewhere, is that new members usually enter at odds with the expectations of the organization. Unfreezing is an experience that disconfirms previously held perspectives by the individual, thus creating a behavioral vacuum in which the organization can input its demands.

Most unfreezing experiences are triggered through a process in which the individual fails to receive confirmation of his sense of self. Such disconfirming data creates anxiety in the person as to what is and what is not. It is at this point that the organization can influence the person toward their perspective by modeling lines of action. In this way, the individual usually adopts the desired behavior and achieves what Schien calls a level of "psychological safety." By rearranging his expectations, or at a deeper level, restructuring his sense of self to conform to the demands of the organization, the new recruit is integrated into the membership of that society.

If the recruit doesn't comply with these varied methods of inclusion he is usually branded a deviant. When this is the case, the organization is faced with constructing new and harsher methods of socialization, ignoring his behavior, and thus denying his confirmation as a viable member of the organization, or, in the last resort, asking the person to leave. In identifying what is deviant, the organization is actually making statements about its vital cultural norms, and like so many of the variables we have examined, this too is contingent upon the style of the individual and the organization involved. In *The Outsiders*, Becker (1968) points out that deviance is actually in the eye of the beholder--that is, what is deviant in one organization is not in another. The essential point to consider is that in some way the socialization process has failed. The individual's membership is in jeopardy and the usual result is that the person leaves the organization.

In the foregoing section, we have attempted to explain the phases of socialization that a recruit goes through as he enters an organization. It is a crucial period for a new member since the manner in which socialization takes place often determines the nature of that experience, thus, bringing into focus the need to concentrate socialization research at this early stage of involvement.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The term "psycho-mapping" refers to the process whereby social interpretations are established through direct experience. In this way patterns, or maps, come about which allow redundant events to be interpreted consistently as they are experienced.

CHAPTER III

IN AND OUT OF THE FISH BOWL: DESIGN THEORY AND METHODS

To say the research design used in this study followed the canons of social science methodology, currently in vogue, would be a misnomer. That is, there was no well-worked-out set of hypotheses to be tested, no instruments were constructed to secure information relevant to those hypotheses, and no quantitative and analytic procedures were specified in advance.

But if we take the notion of design in a larger and looser sense, using it to denote the logical flow of functions and activities that contributed consistency and order to the research, then it can be said that procedures used did exhibit a design. This can be explained by describing the original view of the problem, the theoretical and methodological commitments, and the ways in which these affected the research and, in turn, how I was affected by them. The purpose of this chapter, then, is to carve out the research perspectives and methods and to describe how these were applied in the actual gathering of data.

As we noted in Chapter II, the central concern in our research was the process of socialization that a new member of the Jesus community goes through. Quite simply, the question that was being asked was, what happens to a person once he enters a Jesus community? The original focus, then, was upon the Jesus community as a social institution and the way in which it transforms recruits into fully functioning members; so that in this light, the organization socialization sequences of encounter, inclusion, and exit, pointed out in Chapter II, became the prime focal points of investigation.

It is important to note, here, some of the things that were not assumed. For instance, it was not assumed that there was any prior knowledge on what the new recruit needed to know to become a fully-functioning member of the community. Only from the study of "old time" members could such data be collected. Furthermore, it was not assumed that it was possible to know without direct observation the methods in which such learning was transmitted. This meant that the research concentrated on not only what had to be learned in each sequence but also how it was learned. Both of these assumptions brought to bear the need to work with an open theoretical scheme in which information was to be discovered rather than with a scheme in which variables are decided upon in advance and their causal effects determined.

Theory and Method: A Perspective

This orientation raises both theoretical questions and questions of methods. In fact, one can't be considered without the other. Because of the focus upon collective forms of social action and the effects these had on the new recruits in the Jesus community, it was determined that some form of social psychological theory was required. This question was decided in part by major a priori commitments to a mode of analysis that was grounded in the action of the every day world of the common man. Thus the point of view taken is somewhat arbitrary.

I decided to work with the theory of symbolic interaction, which was first enunciated by Charles Horton Cooley, John Dewey and George Herbert Mean, and later expanded by Herbert Blumer and the Chicago School of Sociology and others. This theory is based upon the prospect that human activity is a process of assigning meaning to situations and objects through interaction with others. This definitional activity comes about not merely by the one person interpreting what action the situation or object calls for and then acting, but rather, it is the product of a complex social psychological process. That is, the person encounters a situation or object, suspends action for a moment, takes the role of the other person and projects how that person will act and how he expects him to act and then indicates lines of action to the other person based upon these projections (Mead 1937, Blumer 1969, Rose 1962). Because such activity is reciprocal in nature, the other person is engaged in the same process from his perspective.

This theory has profound consequences depending on the type of methodological activity engaged in. Because the emphasis is upon the inner subjectivity of each person as he forms lines of action through the process of taking the role of the other person, empirical investigation must be grounded in the actual group life of the people involved. Blumer (1969) describes this as a process of turning to the "empirical world" of the group and the person for data. The empirical world, as he describes it, is made up of:

> what they experience and do, individually and collectively, as they engage in their respective forms of living; it covers the large complexes of interlaced activities that grow up as the actions of some spread out to affect the action of others; and it embodies the larger variety of relations between participants. (pg. 35)

To examine the richness and complexity of this everyday world, the researcher must go directly to the source of data and observe it as it is happening to those involved. It is not possible to carry out such investigations from the contrived settings in social laboratories, nor is it possible to gather these sorts of data by testing predetermined hypothesis. No, the only way to find out about the ongoing process of group life is to observe it first hand from the perspective of those to whom it is happening (Mead 1937, Blumer 1969, Rose 1962, Becker et al 1961). As Blumer notes, the researcher:

> should trace the formation of the action in which it is actually formed. This means seeing the situation as it is seen by the actor, observing what the actor takes into account, observing how he interprets what is taken into account, noting the alternative kinds of acts that are mapped out in advance, and seeking to follow the interpretation that led to the selection and the execution of one of these prefigured acts. (p. 56)

This methodological position is described in social science literature as participant observation or field work. It was the primary means of data collection used in this research and is the focus of the next subsection of this chapter.

Field Work: A Perspective

In this study the term field work is preferred over participant observation because the latter, as we will see later, is a specific role played by the researcher and so does not provide the general definition needed to describe the other roles that might be used in conducting field studies.

For our purposes, field work refers to the observation of people in their social worlds; finding them where they are, staying with them in a role that allows the collection of data from their perspective, and reporting it in ways that are useful to social sciences, and not harmful to those observed (Hughes 1960, p. iii). It is a methodological position that is based upon years of research by anthropologists and sociologists who have sought to go beyond the superficial world of quantitative analysis and to dig deeper into the social reality of the people they are studying. By going to a particular culture and observing it from the perspective of those that live there, it has been possible to understand the breadth of human existence as a complete Gestalt and not a series of disjointed cause and effect relationships (Blumer 1969). One only has to look at the work of Mead, Malinowski, Thomas and Znanieski, Hughes, Becker and others to observe the scope and range such studies bring to the understanding of man and his social world.[1, 2]

The key to carrying out the type of studies noted above is the stretching of the observer's social perceptions and social knowledge to allow him to enter the subjectivity of another person's world and not contaminate what is observed with his own set of biases and social blinders. This at once puts the field worker in the position of playing a role that will allow him the intimacy needed to collect data for his research, and, at the same time, taking the role of those whom he is observing so as to view what happens to them from their perspective. And as Gold (1969) notes, the more successful the field worker is in playing his role, the more successful he will be in taking the role of those whom he is observing.

This is not an easy process, and it should be recognized that the field worker is constantly placed in a position in which his role demands are in conflict with the demands of self expression and self integrity. The observer, then, is constantly walking a tight rope in which he has to judge when it is appropriate to subordinate his self demands to those of the role so as not to "blow his cover." The pressure for such role playing can only go so far and, in fact, becomes dysfunctional when the observer's sense of self is so threatened that he becomes conspicuously defensive. It is at this point that it is better to "get out while the getting is good" than stay in the situation and alienate those whom he is observing.

Buford Junker (1960) has painted a taxonomy that explains with clarity the various interaction combinations between role and self that the field worker can choose. Using illustration number 2 we can see that there are four theoretical combinations that can be identified. These range from complete participant to complete observer.

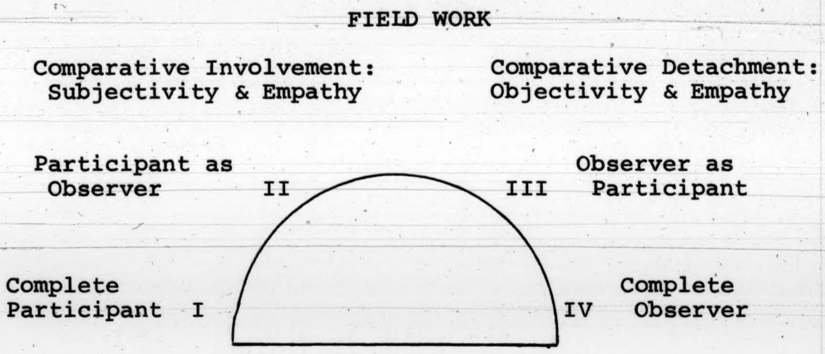

Figure 2

(Junker 1960, p. 36)

Briefly, an explanation of each is as follows:

Complete Participant:

The true identity and purpose of the complete participant is kept secret from those whom the field researcher is observing. He interacts with them in the most natural way possible seeking to mold into their everyday life. The balance between role and self is tipped clearly in favor of role playing and role taking and any conflict with self is repressed so as not to divulge who he really is.

It is hoped that by casting himself in the complete participant role, the field worker will gather much more intimate and "real" data. By being a member of the group under study, the actions to which the field worker is exposed more closely approximate the behavior under which the group operates. It is the unedited perspective that is available only to the complete participant role that makes it so attractive to those seeking knowledge of the everyday behavior of people.

But such intimacy generates problems. The field worker is constantly in a position of checking his own objectivity on the data he is collecting. As he develops his role and gains access to the world of those whom he is studying, there is the possibility that he will become socialized to their point of view. Anthropologists call this "going native" and it is a clear danger when playing the complete participant role.

One of the best methods for checking one's perspective, while acting as a complete participant, is to go back to early field notes and examine the observations made then against those that are now noted on the same phenomena. In this way, it is possible to check for consistency and to note the direction of any change. Clearly one would expect some change, but as Geer (1969) suggests, the purpose in following this method of data analysis is to establish whether change has been the product of lost objectivity or merely a case of evolving perspectives.

Data distortion can exist on another level which is just the opposite to that presented above. In many cases, the field worker attempts to play the role of the complete participant but finds the role demands in that situation so alien or repugnant to his sense of self that he begins to view what is happening from a cynical, defensive position. If he represses his desire to speak out and continues in the role, observations are apt to be clouded with predetermined biases, thus distorting what is observed. Again, a good check, if the field worker can admit the possibility of such distortion, is the analysis of data early into the research and as it is now reported around the same phenomena.

Another problem with the complete participant role is the way in which it inhibits data collection. As a complete participant, it is impossible to openly write field notes, tape record interviews, or conduct social surveys. Unless specifically built into his role, the field worker is limited to recording from memory what he has observed, and because this has to be done when it is least obtrusive, there is usually some time from observation to recording. There is a lexicon of field work mythology that describes all sorts of clandestine designs for recording data. From sneaking to the "out house" to hiding in a confessional, the field worker is tested to his limits of creativity to find a place "to write the damn stuff down."

Participant as Observer

Although basically similar to the complete observer role, the participant-as-observer role differs significantly in that both field worker and those being observed are aware that theirs is a field relationship (Junker 1960). Used primarily in anthropological field research of the ethnographic variety and in community studies in sociology, this form of data collection has produced a rich legacy of impressive results. One only has to consider Margaret Mead's (1928) Coming of Age in Samoa, Elliot Liebow's (1967) Tally's Corner, Hughes et al (1968) Boys in White, and William Foote Whyte's (1943) Street Corner Society to see the richness of such research.

In each of these cases, whether it was Margaret Mead in Samoa or William Whyte in Cornersville, the field worker discussed with those observed what he was up to and then began building relationships that allowed access to the type of information needed. Much like the Cinema Verite style of the film making, participant-as-observer hopes that his presence will slowly become accepted as a part of group life and ultimately forgotten.

But just as the field worker begins to reap the benefits of his patience, he is apt to be confronted by problems arising from the interaction of role and self. Should those that are observed and the field worker reach a level of interaction much as ordinary friends, they begin to jeopardize their field roles in at least two important ways. First, those observed, and especially informants, may become too involved with the field worker to continue to function as a source of data. What appears to happen is that there is some role lacking on the part of the observed and they begin to behave like the field worker, presenting him with observations, interpretations, conclusions and such, so that he hears only what the observed feel as being important. Second, the field worker may, as in the case of the complete participant, over identify with those whom he is observing and start to lose his perspective. And as Junker (1960) indicates, if this occurs, the field worker may still continue going through the motions of observing, but he is only pretending.

Observer as Participant

The observer-as-participant role is used in research that involves one-visit interviews. It calls for more formal observations than with the complete participant or participant-as-observer roles, and lessens the likelihood of the field worker "going native." However, because his contact with the people being observed is so limited, he is more likely to misunderstand the observed and be misunderstood by them. Data obtained from this form of observation, without any other form of valuation, is subject to suspicion and often distorts the reality it attempts to represent (Gold 1969).

Complete Observer

The complete observer role completely removes the field worker from interaction with those being observed. Typified as the "man behind the two-way mirror," the complete observer seeks to gather data by never becoming involved in any way with the people he is studying. This is hardly ever the dominant role in field studies and is usually supplemented in some way by one or more of the other three roles.

The complete observer has very little chance of coming under the influence of those he is observing and thus having data distorted in that way, but the role does hold a high possibility for suffering from ethnocentrism. He observes only from his frame of reference with little direct feedback from the people he is studying. Hence, because the complete observer remains entirely outside the observed interaction, he faces the greatest danger of misunderstanding the observed.

But to assume that the field worker will play only one of these roles during the course of his research is incorrect according to Junker. Because of the contextual nature of the human organization, the observer should be ready to change roles at any given moment and proceed with data collection. Through role taking, the observer can estimate where past roles have taken him and can speculate as to the success a changed role might have or whether he is receiving calls for maintaining the established role (Junker 1960, p. 38).

Role playing and role taking, then, are the key elements in field work. The way the field worker defines his role and his ability to put himself in the position of those being observed will influence the way data is collected, the type of data collected, and ultimately how it is analyzed and reported. It is a difficult and time-consuming task to research human interaction in this way, but to do otherwise would fail to capture the significant condition.

In this subsection of Chapter III, I have presented a theoretical and methodological position based upon symbolic interaction and field work. To have considered them separately would have contributed to the misunderstanding of how this research was conceptualized.

This is because, as I noted earlier, symbolic interaction theory suggests a methodological position based upon the observation of the everyday life of those being investigated. Now I should like to describe the methods used to collect data on the socialization of individuals into Jesus communities.

The information for this particular inquiry comes from ten months of intensive observation, where a co-researcher and I took the roles of new recruits in a Jesus commune. The commune is located in a suburban county of a large western state, and is operated and controlled by a central church referred to here as Christian Chapel.[3]

Christian Chapel is four years old. It is an independent, nondenominational congregation with a conservative Baptist theology. In recent years it has received national publicity for its ministry with young adults, most of whom have used drugs. Christian Chapel has been quite successful in this area, so much so that the ministry was broadened to include the operation of three Christian houses (communes).

Field observations center on the study of one of these Christian houses--Mansion Messiah. Data collection began in December of 1971 and was completed in September of 1972. Over 600 pages of field notes were collected, coded, and analyzed in the preparation of this inquiry. Observations were supplemented with structured interviews which were administered to all members of the three Christian houses. The schedule for those interviews can be found in Appendix A.

Mansion Messiah was selected for several reasons. First, Mansion Messiah is a prime target for observation because, among the Jesus community, it is considered a model of what a successful Christian house can be. For that reason, I concluded, it would be likely to yield representative data on how individuals were socialized into the Jesus Freak culture. Being the oldest of the Christian Chapel communes, it possessed a core of long term members allowing comparative analysis to be made between recruits and these old hands. Last, its geographical location, being close to mine, made it possible to conduct continuous observations over time, which was crucial to this study.

Research Setting

To fully appreciate that milieu in which this research was conducted, it is necessary to understand Christian Chapel's history and present operations and its impact on the Christian houses. This first subsection, then, chronicles the evolution of Christian Chapel and its relationship with the houses. The second is a specific description of Mansion Messiah.

Christian Chapel began with a vision. Chuck Smith, Christian Chapel's leader, had become concerned with the emerging drug culture that was springing up in the beach area surrounding the church. Late one evening he received a calling and was commanded to devote his personal ministry to saving these lost souls. Smith began to spend much of his time traveling the haunts of the hypes and speed freaks bringing them a message of peace and love in the form of Jesus. Some listened.

In a few months Christian Chapel's congregation began to change. Long-haired young men, dressed in jeans and work shirts, and young women, garbed in long dresses, began attending services to hear Chuck Smith preach his powerful version of salvation. These young visitors, from another culture, described their experience as a "turn on." For them, it was "like getting stoned on Jesus."

Some of the regular members of the congregation protested the influx of these young converts. They didn't want any wild-eyed hippies in their church. Smith determined to keep Christian Chapel on the new course he had charted, and told the entire congregation that not only were the doors going to be opened to these young people, but the church was going to devote its full energy to making this a major portion of its ministry. Anybody that didn't like it could leave. Five or six families did but were soon replaced with greater numbers of young adults "mainlining" Jesus.

Smith saw this as a mere beginning--a first phase that could lead to real change for those trapped in the drug culture. But something was missing. He knew that church on Sunday and smack on Monday was no real hope. What these kids needed was a community where they could live without drugs but with Jesus twenty-four hours a day. The architect for this new way of life came in the form of Lonnie Frisbee, a nineteen year old refugee from the Haight-Asbury in San Francisco.

Prior to his meeting Chuck Smith, Lonnie had turned away from a life of drugs to one of street minister. While still at the Haight he opened a soup kitchen aimed at filling the bellies of street kids with free soup and at the same time filling their heads with the Word. More recently he had migrated south hearing that the Jesus movement was in full swing there. One day he was hitchhiking up the coast and was picked up by Chuck Smith's daughter. She was impressed with what she heard and took Lonnie home to meet her father. (The mythology at Christian describes this as the Lord pulling Chuck and Lonnie together.)

It did not take Lonnie long to figure out where the elder Smith was coming from. He and Chuck soon decided that the course of Christian should take was the development of a commune with Lonnie in charge. And so the House of Miracles came to be and with it a new trend in the Jesus movement--urban communes.

The House of Miracles was an instant success. In a few short weeks there were forty full-time members. In several months the number had grown to such proportions that Miracles moved from its old location to a run-down motel that Lonnie and his tribe fixed up to accommodate the new converts that were arriving daily.

By 1970 two other houses were started and flourished. Things seemed to be moving just as Chuck Smith had planned until late 1970 at which time the houses experienced some setbacks. Several were busted for harboring runaways under the age of eighteen, and there was talk of drug use among some of the resident members. Smith was taking no chances and in short order severed the Christian's support of the houses, putting them and Lonnie on their own.

It was time to start over, but this time around the houses would not be as autonomous in their operations as experienced at Miracles and the first houses. They would be self-supporting and located near Christian Chapel where they could be easily supervised and controlled. Their leaders would be appointed by Christian Chapel (Chuck Smith) and no one under eighteen would be allowed to become a member unless he had direct approval from his parents.

There are three Christian houses presently functioning under this contract with Christian Chapel. These are Philadelphia House, Green House, and Mansion Messiah. They possess a similar formal organization and altogether house approximately ninety members. Mansion Messiah, the focus of this study, will later be described in greater detail. But now, I would like to turn your attention to a second important development that is responsible for shaping much of the culture of the Christian houses. I am talking about music--Jesus Rock.

The Christian houses have two main objectives. One is the recruitment and training of new converts and the second is the maintenance of a viable human organization that insures their existence. Because the turn-over rates run very high in each house, the second objective depends very heavily on the first so that much of the membership's time is spend witnessing to other young adults, encouraging them to join Jesus and live in the houses. At first this was a much harder task than it seemed: the Word had been enough to turn on the first converts but something special was called for to reach the numbers that were needed to keep the Christian houses going. So Chuck Smith, being the resourceful Christian soldier he was, found the solution. It was music.

Christian Chapel, like so many nondenominational churches, had always used music as a form of energetic worship, but what Smith had in mind went far beyond "The Old Rugged Cross." His idea was to capitalize on many of the young musicians that had converted to Jesus and put them to work blending the sounds and rhythms of folk and rock with the words of the scripture, thus forming Jesus Rock. This new art form was tried at several youth services with great success--so much so, that they had to be moved to a large tent that held 2,000 people. In a short time even these services were SRO, with large numbers of worshipers "rockin and rollin" outside the flaps.

What else could Chuck Smith and Christian Chapel do but go into the concert business? The first Maranatha concert was held in a high school auditorium. Three thousand people turned out to hear up-beat Jesus music played by several groups. The crowd loved it, and over 600 of them came forward for baptism after the concert.

From this initial concert, Maranatha has grown into big business. Today it is a separate corporation, owned and operated by Christian Chapel, spreading the Word through tapes, records, and live concerts. The first album Maranatha produced, entitled "The Everlasting Living Jesus Music Concert," has sold over 30,000 copies, and a recent release of an album by a popular group called The Love Song has already topped 25,000 units in sales. Praise the Lord!

But even more impressive than the commercial side of Maranatha is its record at saving souls. At every concert you can depend upon 200 to 500 new converts, some of whom join the Christian houses, thus insuring their survival. It's all so easy when you have a vision.

Mansion Messiah

Driving along the major street in Sun City (the name I have given to the city where Mansion Messiah is located) you notice the new development projects, real estate offices, lumber yards, then shopping centers several years old, then new shops. The streets are newly paved and the area has all the signs of a prosperous community. The newest stores are specialty shops catering to the young. There are no houses, no apartments on the main street, but only a block away are rows and rows of middle class homes. You become aware of the beach, although unseen. People dress for the sun. Many of the cars are convertibles with surf boards on the back and bathing suits in the front. Kids are in cut-offs and the drive-in hamburger stands are full of sandy teenagers and proud young businessmen in Saturday shorts with the little woman and 2.3 kids. The land is flat except for the occasional bump of a building. There are no trees; everything green has to be watered or mowed. If you make a U-turn and head down the other side of the hurricane fence dividing the street you will find, near a lumber yard that claims to build ships, a huge 2-story, old bright green house just sitting there like an island and a memory of what must have been.

As you drive in the red dirt driveway and park there is an old aqua truck with the shell of a camper weighting down its back. Its back fender is covered with bumper stickers proclaiming "JESUS LOVES YOU," and "HONK IF YOU LOVE JESUS." Just beyond the old truck is a new van complete with kitchen and bed. The cars are lined up on the red dirt along the side of the house facing the street. At the end of the line a sign stands as a punctuation mark denoting the end of the property and the beginning of the gas station and car wash. The sign looks the passing motorists in the eye and proclaims that "THE WAGES OF SIN IS DEATH, BUT GIFT OF GOD IS ETERNAL LIFE." There is something different about this house.

The first thing you notice is the crystal clean windows and below them the tiny beds of flowers. There's a short white picket fence enclosing the front yard. At the gate is an old mail box with a woodburned sign reading "Mansion Messiah." The sidewalk is swept, and scratched in what was once wet cement is "Jesus Loves You." There's a big porch, suitable for sitting--two old stuffed chairs waiting for company. The screen door lets the noise of inside through.

Something tells you it's OK to walk in. You enter into a large hall that looks up a wooden staircase. To the right is a bedroom with homemade bunk beds on each wall and an old dresser in the middle. The cut carpet on the floor is old and clean. Everything looks scrubbed. To its left is the living room, complete with fireplace that has long since quit working and wood paneling and ceiling that makes you think you are in a resort lodge. The room is too big. It looks more like a lobby than a place to talk. Some kids are sitting around reading the Bible; one girl is quietly singing to herself, stopping to correct a note or change a word. There is a couch on every wall. Hooked rugs, a chair, and two large coffee tables complete the furnishings. There are no books or magazines, and no television. Off the living room is a small office with the only phone. Behind the office is a large dining room with concrete floor and homemade tables. The kitchen is small and made to look even smaller by the crowding in of an extra stove and institutional sized pots and pans. Off the dining room is another bedroom with six or seven of those same homemade bunk beds. Down the hall is the library, a small room with a couch and desk and a cabinet full of tapes.

Up the stairs there are three small rooms, two full of bunkbeds, one with a double mattress on the floor. There is a door that leads out to the roof. There you find a clothesline and towels. From the roof the back yard is visible. It is small, green, mowed, and sports a row of sheds. The resident who has accompanied you upstairs explains that these sheds are "prayer boxes"--places you can go to be alone with God.

If you are very inquisitive you might ask your guide about herself. While she hesitates you probably notice she is young, about 20, just like the others in the living room downstairs. She has long hair, no make-up, and a long old dress. Anywhere else she would have been called a Hippie. She tells you that she has been at the house three months, leaving home a year before--trouble with her parents, her stepfather in particular. For a while she had tried drugs, traveling, and the street culture. Then one day a guy had stopped her on the street and told her about Christ. Since that day she has been a different person. "Do you know our Lord? Would you like to meet some of the Brothers and Sisters?" She takes you downstairs where you meet the girl with the guitar. She explains she sings only for our Lord now, and that most of her lyrics are scripture.

After meeting all the Brothers and Sisters, it is possible to paint a picture of those that convert. All except two are from blue collar families; they were once politically liberal but now see themselves as more conservative. Sex belongs only in marriage and should not be experimented with as most of them had before they came to Mansion Messiah. All have used drugs extensively: five were heroin addicts before coming to Mansion. None had had a purpose in life. Now they were here to praise God for what he had done for them. "Would you like to stay for dinner?"

At dinner you are seated next to the leader of the commune. He is called an Elder, and his name is Phil. He explains his responsibilities as interviewing all prospective members, managing the house, especially the finances and work assignments; leading Bible studies and acting as the spiritual counsel for those living in the commune.

Phil adds that in addition to himself the house leadership consists of a Deacon and Deaconess. Barry is the Deacon and fills in for Phil whenever he is gone from the house. Pam is the Deaconess with special responsibility for the Sisters of the house. She tells you that she assigns the tasks to the Sisters in the commune, supervises their activity, and acts as counselor and liaison for the women.

From what is said you are sure the Elder has the final word in all decisions.

After dinner Phil questions your motives. "Do you want to accept Jesus Christ?"

"Yes."

Phil says, "Praise the Lord. Will you work for the house?"

This question brings Phil to explain the finances of Mansion Messiah. Most of the money comes from the income the men receive from outside jobs that he gets for them. Each man donates 90% of his check to the house; the remaining 10% is spent however the person sees fit. The Elder and Deacon do not work. Sisters do not work outside the house. Sarah explains that it's a blessing for women to know their place--to cook and clean. They receive sporadic allowances to buy what they need. Women's place is in the home.

"OK, I would like to move in," you say to Phil, but you ask, "What else do we do here besides work and pray?" The schedule of activities is rolled off like a conductor calling a train arrival.

Phil says, "Everyone goes to Calvary Chapel. It is our spiritual fountain. Chuck Smith is our leader. Usually the house attends as a group, but individuals can go to any service if some other activity is not planned. The services that everyone regularly attends include:

a. Sunday morning worship
b. Sunday evening Bible Study
c. Thursday night Bible Study (Chuck teaches this)
d. Maranatha Music Concert on Saturday nights

"At the Maranatha concerts the house members counsel these new converts that have seen the way to Jesus. Only those living in a Christian house are permitted to counsel, so that what is told a new convert can be controlled. This is where our new members come from.

"At least once a week we will have a Bible Study in the house. It is our chance to worship together and share in the community and warmth that our walk with Jesus brings. In the afterglow we sing and praise the Lord with our songs, and then serve the Mansion specialty pecan pie and ice cream.

"You will also," Phil goes on to explain, "be expected to get into the Word. You will have to learn the wisdom that's in the Bible. The scripture when it is in your head can enter your heart. That's what the prayer boxes in the back yard are for. Use them any time you are not busy. Study the Word and it will serve you."

You learn that the Word is the life of the commune. It is the only Word. There are no televisions, radios, newspapers, magazines--nothing except the Word. "We want no distractions," Phil says, "Jesus is all we need to know. It's a total way of life; Mansion Messiah is where it's happening."

Having described the physical setting that is Mansion Messiah we turn to the daily flow of events. A commune member's schedule or routine varies from day to day and depends on the job he or she is assigned. Lee, for example, gets up at 5 a.m. to begin his day. From 5 to 6 he studies the Bible and then joins the Brothers and Sisters for breakfast. At 7:30 he and three other male members of the commune are off to jobs working as temporary laborers in a boat yard. The work is hard--very physical. In addition to the labor of the job, Lee also puts in time for the Lord. He and the other commune members witness continuously to the other workers. This has caused some problems, but the foreman would rather have these young Jesus Freaks than the other "bums" he gets out of the Welfare Department. So he tolerates their disruptions.

By 4:30 Lee is back to Mansion. A short nap until 5:30 dinner is followed by a special Bible service led by an older member of Christian Commune. This lasts until 10:00 when it's time for lights out in the house. It is a long simple day that Lee says he loves.

As a point of comparison Karen was up at 4:30 to begin preparation for breakfast for the house. Today it is eggs and hamburger. She spends from 4:30 to 6:00 getting everything ready and then helps serve breakfast. She is last to eat and finishes near 7:00. She spends from 7:00 to 8:00 in the prayer box listening to some of the tapes Chuck Smith has prepared from his sermons. Eight to one is time for further food preparation. In addition to regular lunch for house members, sack lunches must be prepared for the men working near Mansion Messiah and delivered. It is close to 2:00 when Karen returns and has a chance to read over the letter she has received from her parents in Chicago and eat her meal.

From 3 to 4 the women hold a group meeting to decide which duties they will perform the next week. Karen is slated for house clean-up which means she will get extra sleep, not having to be up at the crack of dawn to prepare meals. Five to 7:30 is spend with dinner preparation and serving. At 7:30 she joins Lee and the other house members for Bible Study.

In this chapter we have attempted to describe the major theoretical and methodological positions brought to this inquiry, the way in which these were incorporated in the research itself, and a description of the research milieu. Without further ado let's turn to socialization processes found in the Jesus communes.

FOOTNOTES

[1] For a good summary of the development of field work, see Hughes introduction to Buford Junker's book Field Work Perspectives and Methods, University of Chicago Press, 1960, p. ii.

[2] Some of the best examples of field work can be found in what Tom Wolfe has called the "New Journalism" in which writers like Wolfe, Gay Talese, Norman Mailer, and George Plimpton are reporting significant social data by participating and observing in many varied spectrums of life. For a review of this work see: Wolfe, Tom, "Why They Aren't Writing the Great American Novel Anymore," Esquire, December, 1972.

[3] All the people and organizations described in this research are real but in order to protect their identities and privacy I have changed names, titles, and locations of these individuals and organizations.

CHAPTER IV

ENTRY - DESOCIALIZATION

The First Day

I walked into Mansion Messiah without knocking. I asked the young woman sitting on the couch where I could find Phil.

"He's in the office counseling. Can I tell him your name?"

"Sure, I am Roy Gregg. We met last Saturday night at Maranatha. Tell him I've got my life together. I want to join you here."

"Praise the Lord! I'll get him."

Phil came out and invited me into the office. We sat across from each other and he prayed--the first of three times he prayed in the 1½ hours I was there. He asked God to guide our conversation and show us the right path. Then he asked me why I was there. I said I didn't know. I just felt I should come. I didn't know what God had in store for me. I was taking it on faith that God would show me. I had been praying about it for some time.

After talking a while, Phil was convinced I should stay. He never asked me to stay; he just told me he was glad to have me and I assumed I would stay.

There was a fly that kept bothering us--he finally said, "Lord, smite him." This was a typical comment. God was involved in everything; nothing was too small or trivial to ask him about.

So, I was accepted as a Brother, having passed my interview with Phil. As far as he knew I was just like the rest--a little lost and confused, seeking refuge in the knowledge of the Lord. We left Phil's office and he introduced me to the only Brother sitting in the living room.

"Granny, this is Roy. He's going to live with us. Take him upstairs and help him find a bunk."

Granny didn't say much and motioned for me to follow him upstairs. We went into a large bedroom that looked like the pictures I've seen of Army barracks. There were bunk beds in rows. Granny pointed out one that was vacant and indicated I could use it. We slid into casual conversation. Where was I from? How did I find the Lord?

As we talked further, I asked him about the interview with Phil.

R.G.: Does everyone have an interview?

Granny: Yeah, it's the way Phil finds out if your heart's filled with the Christian Spirit.

R.G.: How does he know?

> Granny: How does he know, man . . . Phil, he speaks for God. He knows. He's checking out to see if you're ready for the walk with Jesus. Phil's a heavy cat. You sure ask a lot of questions! Oh, by the way, since you're a new Brother, I better fill you in on some of the rules around here. First, you'll be expected to work. Phil will find you a job. You have to give 90% of your check to the house, the rest you can keep.
>
> We get up at 6:00 a.m.; bedtime is 10:00. All lights out at that time. Incoming calls are limited to three minutes, and there is no calling outside without permission from the Elder (I found out the phone is locked and Phil has the only key.)
>
> Women do all the housework and cooking, but we clean the bunkhouse. It is their place and they enjoy it. Upstairs, where the women sleep is off-limits. No fleshing around. The quickest way out of here is to get caught trying to make it with one of the Sisters. I know, I tried and it was nothing but trouble. I hate women now.
>
> Phil has the final say here. Whatever he lays down goes.

I just stood there thinking what a structured place. Eric Fromm (1941) was right. People cannot stand freedom--they go to any length to control their lives. Little did I know that these formal prescriptions were the window dressing and there were a whole set of information expectations that contributed even more to the structured life in the house.

I left my stuff on my new bed and followed Granny back downstairs to meet some of the other Brothers and Sisters. Before I could do that Phil met us at the bottom of the stairs and asked if I had brought my Bible.

"No," I lied, "I forgot and left it back at my home."

"Here's a new one," stated Phil. "Roy, get into the Word. I expect you to be reading and studying your Bible any time you're not busy. It's our life. Oh yeah, by the way, we have Chuck's tapes--when you're not reading listen to them. They're heavy. God Bless, see you at dinner."

So, I began to get the picture. The house was a total institution in which all stimuli were controlled. That was why there was no T.V., radio, magazines, or newspaper. The Bible and its teachings were the central focus. In just the few hours I had been at Mansion Messiah, I began to understand how easy it was to socialize new members into expected behavioral pattersn. Everything was programmed to reinforce desired changes in the new recruit.

I spent the rest of the afternoon reading my Bible and listening to Chuck's tapes. They were good. Chuck Smith knew how to sell the Word.

By 5:30 p.m. I was starved and joined the others for dinner. Phil led us in prayer and several songs. Dinner was served. It was some sort of swiss steak and was not too good. Granny, whom I was sitting by, explained that food was a problem because it costs so much to feed the thirty-odd members of the house. Most of the time the food was scrounged from day-old produce that markets throw away and supplemented with a ration of cheap meat.

After dinner I had a surprise. Tonight was an evening out--we were all going to Christian Chapel for Bible study with Chuck. I breathed a sigh of relief--I was already beginning to feel the walls of my new home closing in on me.

I rode to the service with Phil in his car (he had signaled me not to take my car). Mike and Elliot, two members of the commune, came with us. Everyone split up after we got in, leaving me alone and nervous to find a place to sit down. I sat on the floor in front. That particular space of carpet was rapidly filling up with people, most only slightly younger than I. The tent was almost full--as it usually was on the nights Chuck was preaching.

The weeknight services were usually largely attended by young people in the same age range as the commune itself: most between 18 and 21, a few in their mid-twenties, fewer in their late twenties and early thirties. At the services some were teenagers (below 17) and some were younger. I saw no one who looked under 10. There were also older people, some couples, some (but fewer) middle-aged people (most of them by themselves and female), and a few old people.

After looking at the make-up of the audience, I began talking to Debby, the girl sitting next to me on the floor.

She was 19 or 20 and could easily have been a cheerleader. She was dressed like everyone else there--jeans. Some girls wore long dresses, but it was all very casual. I had already learned the acceptable way of beginning a conversation, so I began with the standard questions: How long have you been a Christian? How were you saved? Are you in a Christian house? Debby was "two years old in the Lord" and was saved at Big Boys Hamburger Restaurant where some Brothers from one of the houses came a lot. I couldn't tell whether this was their hangout or their ministry, or both. Since her conversion she had regularly attended Christian Chapel. When she talked of her faith, she got that glazed look of a "spirit-filled Christian." She, like surprisingly many others, had a tape recorder all set up to tape the sermon. And, like the others, she was comfortable and really into what she was doing.

While I was still talking to Debby, the service started. Chuck walked on the platform and up to the mike and started singing. Before the first word was out, the audience knew what song it was and sang along. None of the songs were hymns I learned in church. But they were all easy, singable, and extremely repetitive. You sang the same song over and over until Chuck started another one. This part of the ritual really created a mood. There were no individuals. The audience became one. By the time the singing was over, there were two entities: Chuck and the mass. I was aware of my position to Chuck, looking up to him (so much so my neck got sore) and realizing that he stood in the lightest, brightest spot in the tent.

After about ten minutes of audience sing, Chuck introduced a singer. There were usually three or four singers with guitars and original Jesus stories put to song. I never saw one woman in this position. Performers were men and almost always young (20-25). The singer sang four or five songs, sometimes looking over to Chuck to see if he should sing another one. Then Chuck came back to the mike and asked the audience to stand to sing. The standing served two purposes: it got rest to tired parts of the body, and it facilitated further group identification. This time the songs Chuck chose were not as fast, and fewer had clapping along with them. The second round of songs quieted the audience down. More of them had separate parts for men and women. Many were like prayers. Some songs of both types were sung at practically every service, so that if one had been to even one service, that person knew more than someone who'd never been. And the longer an individual went, the more the person knew, the more status currency one had. The same songs were sung in the Christian houses, so currency from one place was good in the other. For this and other reasons, members of Christian houses had top status in the mass.

There was a special section in the tent (to Chuck's left) where the singers sat. They started the descants and harmonies. Speakers referred to that section sometimes as really singing well.

When the soft round of singing was over, Chuck started his message. He "taught" different parts of the Bible, depending on which night it was. There was a different series on Mondays than on any other day. Each day was different, but the sequence was repeated on the same day of the following week. So a participant did not have to attend every night of the week to keep up on any particular series. This system also permitted Chuck some nights off.

I enjoyed the Bible study. I was not uncomfortable (except physically--the floor got hard after the first two hours). Chuck was pleasant, funny, knowledgeable, and a fine speaker. He was as easy to identify with as to respect. He was like this even when he was preaching doctrine I was opposed to. His manner was subtly seductive. You just knew you could trust him, so you did. So much of what he said was true, or seemed the logical extension of what he just said (which becomes "truth" after only a minor degree of socialization) that you believed him. Several times I said to myself, did he really mean that? How he said what he said made what he said almost unimportant. It was true, so why worry about it? Of course it was important, very important. It was the foundation and legitimization of everything anyone in the movement did, or said, or thought. He was the core. His doctrine, of course, said Jesus and the Bible was the core, but Chuck interpreted the Bible for the folk. His words were taken down and studied just like the Bible. His importance could not be underestimated.

Chuck finished every Bible study, every sermon, every concert with an altar call (old Southern Baptist term, not his). He called for everyone who wanted to be saved to come to the front and stand at his feet. While this was happening, the audience sang again, some were talking in gibberish--"speaking in tongues."

The audience stood to sing. The songs were soft, usually in unison, and repetitive like a chant. As "the Holy Spirit moves," people started to embrace each other. They moved to the center and put their arms around the waist or shoulder of the person standing next to them. This usually began in the front and traveled back. Members of Christian houses were usually in the front (because they got there an hour early) and it seemed they started it.

Chuck ended the service with a prayer and another song. There was about fifteen minutes of people milling around, talking, leaving, being counseled (new Christians), or getting ready for the "afterglow."[1]

The first time I went, I didn't stay for the afterglow. After the raising of hands and speaking in tongues of the final song period, I was ready to get out.

I went back to the Mansion with Phil and the others. They were very interested in how I reacted to the service, and here I got my first taste of what it is like to not conform to an expected social interpretation.

I told Phil and the others about my favorable reaction to Chuck. This was greeted with a number of "Praise the Lords" and then I went on to explain how those speaking in tongues (I used the word gibberish) had seemed straight out of a carnival show. There was stark silence for what seemed like minutes, then Phil finally said, "Speaking in tongues is a most sacred act and it is the Lord's way of speaking to us. Now get this straight, Brother, you had better hope the Lord forgives you for that kind of talk. It won't be tolerated at the Mansion."

I was soundly rebuffed and knew that the line of discreet behavior had been breached and I had been given fair warning. Phil had come on so strong that the incident really frightened me. I was determined not to be so foolish again.

We arrived back at the house just in time for lights out. It was just as well because I was tired and confused, wondering what in the hell I had gotten myself into.

Day Two

I awoke at 5:30 and joined the other Brothers and Sisters for breakfast at 6:00. Granny and some of the others were not there. When I asked about them, Lee, one of the newer members of the house, explained that they had left at 4:30 to go unload tuna at the docks. It was only a part time job that Phil had found so they would only be there for a couple of days.

I began to wonder what Phil was going to find for me. I didn't have to wait long for my answer. Phil came over to where I was sitting and asked if I could help around the house today.

"Sure," I said, "What do you have in mind."

"The windows need washing. Why don't you and Eric get on that. When you've finished come and let me know. Oh, by the way, did you have a chance to get into the Word this morning? You should look at the Old Testament on tongues. It will show you the answers to the questions you were raising last night."

Eric and I got the ladder and began to wash the windows. Eric was a skinny kid about 20 years old. He had long blond hair which he kept out of his eyes with a sun visor that had written on the bill, Jesus Saves. As we worked our way around the house he loosened up and began to tell me about himself.

He had lived at the Mansion on and off for about two years. Eric said this was the only real home he had ever known. His mother died when he was seven, his father when he was nine. He moved to Arizona to live with an uncle, whom he learned to hate. By the time he was twelve he was running away weekly, so the court took him from his uncle and placed him in a foster home. He lived there long enough to finish high school. While in his foster home he slipped quietly into the drug culture. It was grass, acid, then speed. By the time graduation rolled around he was snorting enough "angel dust" to make his life tolerable. The night of his graduation instead of going to the party, Eric set out for the sunny shores of Sun City. He heard that drugs were plentiful and life was easy.

Eric ended up sleeping in the back of a garage on an old mattress, eating spoonfuls of peanut butter for his only meal, and shooting speed into his veins. This was the way it was until the Lord brought him and Chuck together. That changed his life. He accepted Jesus and moved to Mansion Messiah.

I believed Eric when he said that if Chuck and Jesus hadn't come along when they did he would be dead.

For the rest of the morning our conversation flowed in, out and around life in the house. It was pleasant. The work wasn't hard and I genuinely liked Eric.

Just as we finished and were about to put away the ladder, Eric did a strange thing that I soon learned would be the pattern of the old hands in the house. He said: "Brother Roy, you ask too many questions. We should have been discussing the Word. You had better learn the scriptures soon. It's important for you to know them. I am going to have to pray on our morning together with Phil. He'll want to know where your heart is."

We put the ladder away and Eric went directly inside to Phil's office. I felt betrayed. Phil came out in a few minutes and asked me to join him and Eric. I went into the office. Phil indicated that I was to pray with them.

"Oh Father, please hear our prayer. Help your son, our Brother Roy, to see the wisdom of your Words and let them enter his heart. Oh Lord, just help him to see the uselessness of his ways and for him to come into the light. Love and peace we know resides in your Word. We pray for him, oh Father, in your name. Amen."

Phil excused Eric and me for lunch. It was creamed tuna on toast. I didn't feel like anything. The prayer had been a very powerful injunction for me. I was completely aware of how quickly I was internalizing Mansion Messiah's cultural norms and values. I actually felt like I had committed some grievous error. I felt guilty and ashamed.

I soon learned that a major tool in the unlearning process, which socialization is incumbent upon, was the use of degradation ceremonies. Usually these took the form of prayers and, depending upon the degree of humiliation that was intended which was correlated to the misconduct, they were conducted in trios for less serious breaches to the full house when complete community humiliation was levied. It was a very powerful means, as I soon learned, of getting deviant behavior back in line and teaching new recruits appropriate lines of action.

After lunch I checked out several tapes and took them to the prayer sheds. I spent the next three hours in one of these hot little huts with the tape of Chuck Smith describing the Baptism of the Holy Spirit going over and over again while I recorded my notes from that morning's experience. I could see this phase of the research was going to be a constant hassle. There was no place to write without being seen or questioned. I began to feel like a spy that had been dropped behind enemy lines.

By the time I had finished my notes it was near 4:30. I went back inside the house. Phil asked how I had liked the tape and wanted to discuss it with me. Fortunately the thing had played long enough so I was able to bluff my way through our talk with a few well chosen words and quotes. Phil seemed pleased and complimented me on getting the point of the tape. I liked this praise. It made me feel good.

Dinner came and went. After everyone had finished eating we went into the living room for Bible study. I soon saw this was a very intimate time for the commune members. Although there was plenty of room on the couches, everyone chose to sit on the floor. The acceptable limits of personal space between male and female were much closer than those I had previously observed. There was a sense of anticipation and excitement that had only been present at the service at Christian Chapel.

Phil began with a sermonette on the 23rd psalm. He was quite knowledgeable about the scripture making numerous cross references and linkages with other passages. It was evident that Phil had spent a lot of time with the Word. But this wasn't why everyone was keyed up. What they had all been waiting for began after Phil's teaching.

When Phil finished, he asked everyone to stand up. The lights went low. The person next to me put his arm around my waist. I did the same to the next person and so it went until the entire group was linked together. Phil asked in a very low voice for the Holy Spirit to come down and visit us. Everyone held on to each other. We squeezed a little tighter. There was a song--one of the long chanting ones. The girl next to me started to "speak in tongues," the gibberish I had heard the other night at Christian Chapel. Then everyone started it. The sound reminded me of ancient rites.. I felt I had taken a step back into the collective unconscious of man, and instead of Sun City, it was some ancient cloister with its medieval choir chanting rites to some unknown God.

I felt uncomfortable in my own silence. I felt pressure to be like everyone else so I began humming. That didn't seem loud enough (the noise was swelling) so I "oo-ed." Finally I lapsed into a familiar hymn which was my only comfort in an uncomfortable atmosphere.

Our chanting went on for about ten minutes until Phil decided to stop it. He did this by praying (in English) for the sick who by this time were kneeling in front of him. The group joined in with supportive "Yes Jesus," "Yes Lord." Then one of the Sisters to be healed spoke out in semi-scriptural language. It was a call to prayer. The "speaking in tongues" continued until Jesse, a new recruit, started a loud chant in English. The words were not hers. "I will return to the Christians I love. You must be prepared for my coming. The judgement day is near," and on and on.

I found out later that this is "God speaking through me" where a Christian with exceptional virtues is used as a medium by the Lord to deliver his Word in person. Later Jesse was to describe the experience being akin to getting an electrical shock. "I remember nothing about what I said but I felt weird like when you stick your finger in a light socket."

The service seemed to be over with the singing of the Doxology--the old Christian ritual that closes each worship. It sounded so different from the times I welcomed it as a boy when it signaled that the boredom of church was soon to end. It was incongruous. I felt like I had just gone through a Satanic rite or walked in on a wild "acid" party. But there it was--the old traditional Doxology.

The service was not quite over yet. Phil now called for all those that wanted to receive the Holy Spirit to come kneel near him. He placed his hands on each person's head murmuring prayers. That was called "Laying on Hands" and was a ritual performed by only those that held the rank of Deacon or above.

I could see tears in several persons eyes. Most of those near me looked as if they were in a trance. The atmosphere was one of non-ordinary reality, similar to those Castaneda (1972) described in his apprenticeship with a Yaqui Indian Sorceror.

After the "Laying of Hands" Phil asked if there was anything anyone wanted to share. That was where it got heavy. The group still standing began a process of confrontation and exposure through prayer. One by one each person prayed to the Lord to help a particular Brother or Sister correct some fault the person praying had experienced. For example, Pam prayed for Jesse to do more of her share of keeping up the house; and Eric asked the Lord to give Granny the strength to stop "fleshing around with women." During the same prayer the person also exposed his own shortcomings--where he had gone astray and not lived as a true Christian.

It was like a T-Group--that interactive mode used by behavioral scientists to allow people the freedom to learn about differences among people through confrontation and exposure--but in this session it was done without interaction. No one owned their issues by acknowledging their feelings when confronted, nor was there any serious exploration of how a person could change the behavior he identified as making his life difficult. The process cleansed the soul and set a model for conflict reduction, but did little to resolve basic problems.

It was assumed that Jesus is their group leader and he would take care of everything.

The session was finally over. I hurried upstairs and went into the bathroom and locked the door recording my notes for the next three hours. It was 1:00 a.m. when I finally came to bed. Granny was still awake. "Where have you been," he asked. I had to thing fast. I told him, "I've been writing in a diary I am keeping." "How come you're doing that. It doesn't make sense."

"I am writing down my experience here at Mansion. The Lord visited me last night and told me this was my duty so I could share this with those that don't understand our ministry."

Granny seemed to accept this explanation. I was so tired I didn't care if he did or not. I climbed into bed thinking two days gone and I was a part of this culture in more ways than I wanted to believe. What would I be in two weeks, or two months.

Wednesday-Sunday

In the remaining part of the first week the new recruit settled into the routine of basic training he was expected to complete. For the most part this process was aimed at unlearning many of the old habits a recruit brought with him and beginning to fashion the new social interpretations that were the sought-after outcomes of socialization into Mansion Messiah.

During this time I found myself spending most of my time doing odd jobs and learning scripture. Granny explained it was what all new converts do for at least the first weeks. He said, "to become a Christian you have to get rid of your old fleshing ways and the only way to do that is to live the Word 24 hours a day. That's why Phil is always asking you what you've read lately and it's also why you are not out working with the rest of us. In about two weeks when Phil thinks you are ready to stand up to this wicked world and turn your back on Satan, then he will find you a job on the outside."

Saturday night brought the first relief from Phil's constant probing and the house fixing. We were all going to the Maranatha concert which was being held in Christian Chapel's big tent. Everyone got dressed up in their finest clothes. For the men this was usually jeans with fancy patches and festive Mexican Wedding shirts. The women wore their best long dresses.

The service began at 7:00. It was time for Jesus Rock. Three groups were playing and were introduced by Christian Chapel's youngest minister. His name was Tom and in outward appearance resembled those seated around him. The music started; it was good. After each band finished the musicians witnessed to the crowd.[2] You could see that the focus was clearly outreach rather than Bible study. It was working; everyone around me was on their feet praising the Lord. The concert lasted two hours. When it was over afterglow followed.

The afterglow was for Christians only and was a continuation of the "moving of the Holy Spirit." The small group clustered around Tom, who had not gotten off the platform, and prayed. Soon people began speaking in tongues. One girl got so loud you couldn't hear the speaker and leader of the service. She also began shaking, and at this point Phil was called to quiet her down. People were speaking in tongues and holding on to each other (from a previous song period). Tom, the leader, began faith healing. He asked all those who were sick to come to the front of the group to be healed. He layed hands on some of them; to others he just acknowledged their presence.

He also did a little ESP-type exercise and said "someone has something really wrong with his lungs. Pray to God and He will heal you." After this "manifestation of the Spirit," the leader called for Christians who were not "spirit filled" to receive the "baptism of the Holy Spirit."

This was an altar call for Christians and was just like the one for salvation for non-Christians. The same arguments and reasoning were used for both appeals. Some of the kids walked forward and everyone prayed they would be filled by the Spirit. The leader layed hands on them too. All this time the group was singing or speaking in tongues, or both.

I became aware that Phil and some of the other old hands were looking over at me. What do they want? Suddenly I realized they expected me to be baptized in the Holy Spirit. I went forward. What in the hell was I doing? I knelt, Tom layed hands on me, mumbled some prayer. It was over with shouts of Praise the Lord and Thank you, Jesus.

Mansion Messiah members rushed up and embraced me. I knew I had cleared the first hurdle in becoming a Christian. Phil congratulated me most of all and asked me to stop by his office Monday to talk about a full-time job. I felt just like the time I accepted a bid to join a fraternity.

The First Week in Retrospect

The first week, for the new recruit, is the most important time in his career as a Jesus Freak. It is when his old self and the expectations of the new culture collide in a process of unlearning or de-socialization.

It is a time for clearing the slate so that new social interpretations may be introduced--ones that are consistent with the value horizons held at Mansion Messiah. It is a difficult period for the new recruit. Nothing is familiar, old behaviors are ridiculed, and new ones seem at best strange and bizarre. It is the time when most recruits quit the commune. If a recruit makes it through this maze of jargon, ritual, and hazing, he will then pass into the second level of the status hierarchy--that of a member. He will be included.

In the next chapter we examine that period of time from two weeks to three months which is the inclusionary phase of socialization at Mansion Messiah. The thrust of the observations focus upon the new social interpretations that a recruit must learn to be an accepted member.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See Glossary for definition of "afterglow."

[2] See Glossary for definition of "witnessing."

CHAPTER V

INCLUSION--SOCIALIZATION

Two Weeks--Three Months

From the second week to the third month the center of activity for the new recruit turns from the process of desocialization to that of socialization. During this time the focus of learning is on the new social interpretations that are appropriate for membership in Mansion Messiah. Emphasis shifts from overt practices such as scripture training (assuming the recruit has performed up to Phil's expectations) to a subtle molding of values and attitudes. The basic ideology that forms the crux of this training is still the scripture but it is not memorization as I experienced in the first week, rather it is a complex form of internalization.

The method of imparting these social interpretations are sanctions leveled at the group and individual. Phil remains the dominant force with old hands acting as role models for the expected behavior.

From my observations I found the inclusion phase of socialization aimed at changing recruit behavior in four specific areas. These were: (1) Sexual role stereotyping; (2) Pre-marital sex; (3) Politics; and (4) Free Will. It is impossible to consider these topics in chronological order as I did in the previous chapter. This is because new social interpretations are not sequentially determined but rather learned as the situation arises. Hence, this chapter presents collective observations that describe each of these social interpretations and how they are learned by the recruit.

Sexual Role Stereotyping

By the time the second week rolled around I was beginning to feel like an old hand. The routine was consistent and except for odd jobs, it resembled much of what I had experienced during the first week. Phil and I had a long talk about the kind of work I was going to do, settling on the plan that I would become a substitute teacher in the schools near Mansion. It was his feeling that not only would I bring in needed money for the house, but it would be an opportunity to witness to students. But until I was called by the school district, I would continue to stay around the Mansion helping with the house chores. This was fine with me for it gave me further exposure to new recruits as they entered the house.

During this time I interacted more with the Sisters than I had during my first weeks in the house. It became increasingly clear that Mansion Messiah was built on principles of male chauvinism and dominance. From the second week through the rest of my stay at the commune, I learned the woman's role through example and direct teaching. The message was "Women are expected to serve men and it is improper and not permitted for them to seek equality or autonomy." The doctrine used for this social interpretation is taken from the Old Testament and is interpreted literally by Christian Chapel's membership.

Women do all the menial work required to keep the house operating. There is no prescribed sharing of these chores. Only in a random twist of circumstances, similar to mine, was there any crossing of these rigidly defined sexual boundaries. While I was working with the Sisters, several Brothers pulled me aside and lectured me on the proper role of men which clearly did not include cleaning house or cooking as I had been doing.

One day I asked Pam, the Deaconess, about this observation. She repeated a phrase I had heard earlier. "It's a blessing for the women to know their place here. They don't have to worry about making a living or any of that. They just fulfill their natural role of serving men."

Pam played this submissive role to the hilt and relied on Phil to make all of her decisions. The only time I saw her exercise a prerogative of her role was when she made up and posted the Sisters' work assignments for the week. But even that had to be approved by Phil.

Pam's job was to make things easier for Phil. When I asked Phil about varying the menu for meals he replied, "That's Pam's worry," punctuating it with, "besides that's women's work." The message was "that is not important enough for a man to worry about; it's beneath our dignity to even consider such a mundane problem." Even getting money for groceries from Phil could be a humiliating experience for the women. One day it was Jesse's turn to go to the store. I heard her ask Phil for food money. He paid no attention. Finally after asking the third time, he pulled out a wad of bills and handing Jesse sixty dollars he said, "There, is that enough?"

"Yes, I think so."

"Well, it better be."

This incident made me so mad that I almost told Phil off. He had treated Jesse with such arrogance, demeaning her to the lowest status possible--that of a slave and beggar.

As Phil often said, "Girls are called to take care of the house. That's their ministry." I thought it strange that men constantly searched and prayed about their ministry, but women always knew. The men told them and they were not to challenge it. I discussed this with Jesse, who was most expressive about her displeasure with the way she was treated. She said, "It makes me sick, I feel used and abused. I don't have the same rights as the Brothers and they make me feel inferior."

Jesse's rebellious nature was not easily masked and on several occasions I heard many of the Brothers tell her to "submit! submit!" Soon this caught on and was repeated by most of the men. Jesse knew she had her place and had better stay in it.

The same system held true in the larger community. The pastor, deacons, the song leader, the ushers were all men. The folk singers who entertained were men. At church, only men acted as Bible study leaders; women were secretaries and nursery keepers.

On Saturday nights while the Maranatha concert was going on in the tent, there was a Men's Prayer Meeting. Women went to be prayed for. The Maranatha concert had the most participation by women in the outreach activities of the house. Women helped leaflet the high schools and colleges (under the direction of men). Women were counselors at the concert talking to the converts of the night.

In the meeting for counselors before the concert, Steve (Philadelphia House elder) led the inspiration, but

Kim (a girl from Mansion Messiah) sang for the group and she was well received. Women also helped collect the offering--something they do not do at the tent.

This participation didn't alter any of the previously described role prescriptions. It was, rather, an insignificant exception to the rule.

The social interpretation that described the role of the sexes at Mansion Messiah came through loud and clear. Men are superior; women are inferior. That is the way the Lord made it, and that is the way it will be. Any deviation from this doctrine required retraining which was applied in the form of sanctions.

I was not aware of these processes upon entry, but in two weeks I began to see the underlying values and beliefs a recruit must internalize to become a member.

Pre-marital Sex

Linked closely to the sexual bias that pervades life at Mansion Messiah are the expected shifts in attitudes on morality and sex. The social interpretation that rules sexual behavior is that there is none until a couple is married. This norm is enforced more strongly in the case of female sexual deviance than in the case of male deviance. For example, Granny told me the story of how he had gotten so excited by a new Sister that he could no longer contain himself.

"I was so hot for her I asked her to go to a motel. She said O.K. We were heading out the door about eleven one night when Phil caught us. She was so scared she told him everything. He kicked her out of the house right then and there--told me to go to my room. The next month, every time it was time for someone to pray, they asked the Lord to help me with my fleshly desires. I hate women now."

I found out later that this same girl had moved into one of the other Christian houses operated by Christian Chapel and was now a Deaconess. The point this example illustrates is that although sex is forbidden, it is more forbidden for women than men.

Everything at Mansion was structured so as not to encourage anything but healthy intimacy (non-physical, non-sexual). Men and women had separate bedrooms and bathrooms, which were off-limits for the opposite sex. There were no panty raids at the Mansion. This code was strictly enforced.

In addition to formal segregation, time was structured so that there was no prolonged time in which Brothers and Sisters could be alone long enough to become intimate. Even when a couple might chance a prolonged hug, they ran the risk of social ridicule and embarrassment.

One night Jesse and Eric were in the hallway. No one was around and they were in a strong embrace which lasted several minutes. Right in the middle of what I thought was an innocent hug (I was observing from the other room), Sam, one of the old hands, walked in. Jesse and Eric acted as if they had been caught in the middle of a crime. They jumped back from each other and rushed off in opposite directions. That night Jesse and Eric were the topic of numerous prayers. If I didn't know better, I would have guessed they had been caught having intercourse in the hallway.

The most interesting part of this socialization process was the guilt associated with any deviance from this norm. In many prayers and conversations the new recruit continually repented for past adventures and those that he was embarked upon while a Christian.

One day these repressed energies seemed to explode in a cathartic exposé and tell session.

Phil had left the house for a couple of days to see his kids from a previous marriage. Barry, the Deacon, had gone to the beach with some other kids. That left ten of us just hanging around the house talking. It was late in the afternoon. Everyone seemed relaxed, and the talk had shifted from Jesus and the scripture to what it was like before becoming a Christian.

Stories were passed among us--parents, brothers, sisters, school and all the other things that made up life back home. It was all very innocuous until Jesse began telling her story. I had noticed she had been sitting quietly.

"I can't relate to the stuff you guys have been talking about. My life before I became a Christian wasn't smooth. It was sex and dope. My parents had spoiled me. They didn't give a damn about what I did, where I went, and who I did it with.

"When I was thirteen, I was blasting down two tabs of acid a day. By the time I was sixteen it was heroin. I couldn't support my habit with the allowance my parents gave so I began hustling on the street. I became a prostitute.

"This was the straw that broke my parents' back. They kicked me out of the house. So I moved to Los Angeles. By this time I had a fifty dollar-a-day habit which meant I had to go deep into prostitution. In time I was busted, released, and busted again. Finally, Chuck Smith found me and I found the Lord.

"I hate men now. I never want to get married. I never want to have to sleep with one again."

Jesse's disclosure certainly changed the flow of conversation among the group. Each person drew deep within himself and talked of his most intimate feelings about sexuality and being a Christian. The statements are summarized below. They speak for themselves.

> "I was in sin, seeking to satisfy my emptiness with scoring chicks. Shortly before I accepted Jesus, the Lord dealt with me and I desired no more extra-marital sex. I look forward to a wife and kids in Jesus."

> "The first two months after I converted I had an affair with the backsliding Christian who led me to the Lord. During those two months in Chicago, he and his wife were the only two Christians I knew, and I was still with my old friends. Since coming to California, though, the Lord straightened me out. Now I believe sex belongs in marriage, and I'm not married.
>
> Since my conversion, the Lord has changed me greatly in this area. Due to my involvement in Women's Lib (which has close ties with Gay Lib) and my deep hatred for men (my father used to beat me and a lot of guys took advantage of me), I was beginning to turn to women. I know if I hadn't gotten saved, I'd be a total lesbian now. Now the Lord has changed my heart to the context that I love my Brothers and desire to marry someday. I don't look to women at all anymore."

> "I have had sex a couple of times but I regret it. I'm tempted by Satan but through Jesus I don't have the desires I used to because Jesus changed my life. I don't need sex anymore."

> "I stumbled a couple of times at first, not realizing that I was blowing it in God's sight. Now I try to live exactly by the Bible. NO SEX (lust of the heart destroys the soul)."

> "I've had no sex, but I had a problem with masturbation. This has ceased with God's help."

> "In the spring of my senior year, I got involved with a non-Christian guy. We had sexual intercourse and got into some strange ideas about being spiritually married. God saw the desire in my heart

> to follow in His steps and to do his will. He led me out of this entanglement. Now, however, my body is His. I can present it to him holy and pure. I have no sexual life now. Sex can only be enjoyed in the divine union of marriage."
>
> "My sexual life after conversion is beautiful and pure, contented, lacking any of man's perverted desires of selfish gratification. It's really neat that Brothers and Sisters can relate to each other as individual personalities instead of sexual objects. We can share openly our most intimate feelings and attitudes. Now that's real communication and getting to know each other."
>
> "I have remained in love with the same man--the only man I've ever had sex with. But we were tapped by the Word and learned we were not only destroying our love, but also hurting God. We gave up sex in any form. We will remain this way until God leads us into marriage. If the Lord tells us to split up, I would still have the same convictions."

This guilt was not expressed outwardly for the Lord to deal with as much of the other deviance was, but rather internalized. From this group session and interviews, I found the guilt took the form of self hate, especially in terms of one's body. This repression seemed to present problems of developing lasting relationships between sexes. In fact, it was my opinion, after six months at Mansion, that there was more antagonism between Brothers and Sisters than love.

In a conversation with Phil late in my field work, I found that the stringent rules on sexual conduct went beyond conveying scriptural law.

"The quickest way for these kids to get back into their old habits is to start fleshing around with one another and turning on to dope. The dope we can deal with by keeping it out of the house, but sex is another problem. Everyone here is young; they've messed around a lot before they found the Lord. It was hard to get them to leave that scene. But if we can get them to accept Christ's way for about three months, then they've made it. The love of God will replace their fleshly desires."

In this one statement, Phil had captured the reason for the compulsive preoccupation with the members' sexual behavior. Celibacy was the mark of a true Christian and a requisite for membership in the house.

Politics

"There is no peace for the wicked. As long as there is sin there can be no peace on earth. Peace factions should fight among themselves. This is the best way to bring Peace on Earth."

"The peace symbol is the inverted cross with the broken arms used to crucify the Christians.

"It's not easy to live a Christian life in a pagan world. We are in a constant battle."

These were the comments of Chuck Smith delivered at a Sunday night service in February. They represented the social interpretations that are accepted dogma at Mansion Messiah. Because there was no radio, T.V., newspapers, or magazines, Chuck was the major informational link to the outside world and what he said was taken as absolute truth. So when he preached about our no win policy in Viet Nam and damned Communists as the red scourge out to destroy Christianity, it was no wonder that these same views were echoed at the Mansion.

The first encounter beyond Chuck's preaching came one evening as several other Brothers and I were leafleting a college campus. The conversation turned to politics.

Gary, an old hand, started when he saw a group of college kids wearing McGovern buttons go by. They refused our leaflets. "Dirty Commies. We should kill every one of them."

I responded, "Communists are people too, you know."

"Oh, you are one of those Peace Freaks," was Gary's immediate retort. "I hate all Commies encluding Peace Freaks."

I asked Gary what a Communist was. He said; "An atheist religion we all must fight just like President Nixon is fighting it in Viet Nam."

I can remember thinking that these people sure missed the parts in the scripture which talk of brotherly love and turning the other cheek. But this fits because Chuck said that it was all right to get mad at the Devil and not tolerate his ways--be it Mormon, Jehovah's Witness, or Communist.

Several weeks later as news of the political primaries began to leak into Mansion, there was a short conversation concerning political candidates that seemed to sum up the political social interpretations of Mansion Messiah.

James and several others were talking over the possibilities of a McGovern/Nixon campaign. "McGovern wants to give everything back to the Communists." Everybody in the group shook their head in agreement. "Nixon fights them, is of God, and is the only hope for the continuation of God's blessing on the U.S.A." This was greeted with a number of Praise the Lords.

Gary then came forward with a startling suggestion. He had heard of a Christian House in Los Angeles where all of the members went down and registered as Republicans. "Just think if we did that and got the other houses to do the same and then started getting kids at Maranatha to register, the Christians could beat those Commie Peace Freaks."

"Praise the Lord!" Everyone there thought this was a splendid idea, telling Gary to get Phil to do it. It never happened and to this day I wonder what kept Phil from carrying out the plan.

This conservative orientation at first seemed strange to me. I had come from a university where the bulk of students ranged from liberal to new left. It was incongruous to experience such opposite feelings from a very similar appearing population. But once I analyzed the structured interviews, it was possible to explain this phenomena. The majority of Mansion Messiah's members, although reporting moderate to liberal political leanings before conversion, came from blue collar homes. Blue collar workers have become the supporters of right wing politics in America. This phenomena coupled with the membership's lack of exposure to higher education and the diversity in world views this brings, could reinforce old parental messages that are now echoed by the new super parent Mansion Messiah and Chuck Smith.

Free Will

I couldn't believe what I had just heard, although the message had been expressed a thousand times in a thousand ways. I had been talking to Eric, my window washing partner, about free will. "You have none," he said, "when you give your life to Jesus you live His will. He tells you what to do."

I couldn't accept the totality of Eric's statement. I asked him, "What happens if you have a dream and Jesus tells you to do something you know will harm someone else?"

"I would do it because I would know that person must be of the Devil, and Jesus wants to use me against him."

"What if he told you to kill another person. Would you do it?"

"Yes! It would be His will."

I have read how Charlie Manson used the same logic with his Family in "psyching" them into the Tate/La Bianca murders. But to be exposed to the same way of thinking at Mansion Messiah really frightened me. I can remember thinking that there is no extent to which this combination of dependency and ultimate truth can be carried.

The social interpretation from which this perspective springs is the most pervasive of the recruit's learning and is usually the last to be internalized. He is taught that to do God's will is to accept whatever happens as a given. Nothing is left to the person. Every decision is in the hands of God.

I saw this as a form of rationalistic determinism, where behavior and action were rationalized as being determined by God. It relieved the person of responsibility or worry over his past or future behavior.

"Jesus wanted me to get strung out on smack so I would really know him when I began my walk."

"I spent all that time in jail because Jesus saw it as a way for me to know his light in a purer form. He wanted me there."

"I will do whatever Jesus tells me. I don't have to worry about where I am going in the future. I've got Jesus and He will lead me in the right path."

This process of displacement of guilt can be a viable form of reducing anxiety. But when considering the ultimate issues it raises in terms of personal responsibility, doing God's will becomes a frightening prospect.

If the recruit is to become a member of Mansion Messiah he must accept this social interpretation above all others. In the closing days of my field work, I began to rebel against doing God's will. I asked why? This question cannot be tolerated because there is no answer except to do it because Jesus wants it that way. For the recruit that does not accept the primacy of Jesus controlling his life, there is only one way to go and that is out. If he surrenders, he becomes a member.

CHAPTER VI

DEVIANCE--THE WAY OUT

From the third month when the recruit manifests all the social interpretations of an old hand, until the time he leaves the commune, socialization takes the form of sanctions to specific acts of deviance. Usually these re-socialization efforts were initiated by Phil and took place after some form of degradation ceremony. (See Chapter IV.) Typically, re-socialization involved reading a specific passage of scripture or listening to one of Chuck's tapes, which was aimed at illuminating the social interpretation that had been breached and providing instruction as to proper behavior. If Phil was especially displeased he would, in addition to the scripture or taped lesson, call the recruit in for additional counseling.

Usually the re-socialization efforts were aimed at individual deviance. But there were several times when the entire membership was punished and in these cases punishment went beyond the relearning of scripture. For example, one Friday Phil began the evening meal complaining about disunity among house members and how this was affecting morale. "And what's more," he said, "you can see it in the way we're keeping house. It is always a mess." Phil looked angry after he had finished, but he didn't mention the moral problem again the rest of the evening.

About 2 a.m. that Saturday, all the lights came on in the dorm. Phil was at the door yelling for everyone to get up and come down to a house meeting. I was extremely tired because I had been up until 1 a.m. writing my field notes. I didn't even bother getting dressed. I pulled a blanket over my pajamas and headed downstairs. By the time I got there the entire house was sitting in a semi-circle on the floor. Phil was in a chair facing the Brothers and Sisters looking exceptionally fierce. I sat down. Phil gave me a dirty look.

He began with about forty-five minutes of real fire and brimstone. "This house is the worst of the three Christian houses. You people are not serving Jesus as you should. The Devil is here and he must be driven out." I began to squirm a little but Phil went right on. Then the group began to buy into what he was saying and before long everyone was punishing himself for what he had done to contribute to the house moral problem.

Phil broke in saying that it was obvious that Jesus had heard our prayers (the prayers sounded more like threats to me) and it was time to get ourselves together. He told us we were to work the rest of the night getting the house clean. It was to be ready for his inspection when he got up in the morning.

We cleaned and scrubbed all night, praising the Lord for Phil's understanding and patience with us.

Serious deviance such as fleshing around with the opposite sex, using dope in the house, or exerting your will over God's can result in the ultimate sanction--being kicked out of the commune. While I was at Mansion Messiah no one was asked to leave--no one except me. The observations that led up to that incident will serve as the datum to illustrate how this final socialization phase was carried out.

In retrospect I might say that being thrown out of Mansion Messiah was the only way I could achieve this final bit of analysis. This was due to the impossibility of observing someone else going through the private sessions of prayer, counseling, and pressure that were applied to force a person out.

It was during my last two weeks at Mansion Messiah that everything began to snap. The pressure to rebel had built up to the point that I was leaving every chance I got. Finally one day Phil called me into his office. I remember the conversation as follows:

> Phil: Roy, I know what you are up to and Jesus will punish you.
>
> R.G.: What do you mean?
>
> Phil: Come on, with all the notes you are taking, all the questions you ask, you must be a spy. Probably a reporter out to write another smear article on us.
>
> R.G.: Look Phil, I am just keeping a diary. I don't know what I'll do with the stuff in it. Certainly I'll ask Jesus to help me decide. But I am no newspaper reporter.
>
> Phil: I don't care about excuses. If there is any more note-taking, I will personally see that the Lord physically punishes you. Now get out of here.

I left Phil's office thinking, "well, it is all over. I am not sticking around here with Phil talking about physical punishment." So I got out in my car and went home.

After being home a few days, I began to wonder what would happen if I went back. Phil hadn't told me to leave the house, just his office. I decided it was data I needed. So "home" I went.

I got back to the Mansion about five-thirty Friday night. I walked in and a couple of people said hi--no other comments. Everyone was preparing to go to the Maranatha concert that night. I saw Jesse in the living room. She hugged me saying, "I expected you back about now. Come on, let's go to the concert." We got in the car. Phil came over to give us parking instructions. I am sure he saw me in the back seat, but he didn't acknowledge my presence. I caught his eye and said, "Hi." He gave a quick "Hi" and left. During the entire evening he avoided talking to me--even when I was close. I felt like a non-person and was uncomfortable. Jesse sat with me during the concert. That made me feel better. I was keenly aware of everyone's reaction to me. I found myself clinging to signs of peer group acceptance.

No one talked to me. No one asked me where I'd been or how I was except Jesse. The others acknowledged visually that they recognized me, but that was all.

When the concert was over I went back to Mansion Messiah and went to bed without comment. I remember thinking as I lay in the dark, "Does their silence mean they have no trouble accepting me? Does it mean nothing has changed? Maybe I wouldn't have to explain my actions. Maybe there is a more permissive atmosphere than I thought." Such thoughts didn't reduce my discomfort.

I got up at five-thirty and went down to breakfast. I was waiting in the living room. Phil walked in, noticed me and motioned me to come into his office.

I sat down in the green chair, which meant I was sitting lower than Phil. I was conscious of our relative positions and felt immediately like I had been called on the carpet.

He broke the silence with, "what happened to you the other night?"

I told him I had been upset and had driven to the beach to pray alone about the problems I was having at Mansion Messiah. From there I had driven to a friend's house where I spent a few days resting and thinking. "I felt Jesus wanted me to come back; that's why I'm here."

Phil began to pray. It was a short one. I had learned from the old hands that short prayers are a danger signal.

> "Oh Lord, we just ask that you direct us, and just help us make the right decision, Lord. Amen."

They were right. It sounded like Phil was planning to formally kick me out of the house.

"Well, I don't know if you can continue to live here with your sporadic schedule." I had told Phil several weeks ago that I had a job training policemen in Los Angeles and would have to stay there because of the night schedules. He had agreed.

"Phil, I told you some time ago about my involvement with the police job and the type of living arrangements it would demand, and you said it was all right." I not only had interrupted him, but I had confronted him on his convenient slip of memory. If he was going to throw me out, he would have to level with me about why. He wouldn't.

He used the typical escape from interpersonal communication and said, "I'll pray about it." That meant the case was closed for now.

By that time the phone was ringing and breakfast was being served, so our conversation ended. I was pardoned, until further notice. I was aware that my fate had not been decided and I was in serious trouble.

During the next few days Phil sat across from me at most of the meals, but never looked at me. I was a non-person again. Saturday I worked all day doing odd jobs, even when others were loafing.

That afternoon I ran errands with Jesse and Granny. Just as I came in, Phil caught me at the door. "Why don't you fix dinner tonight, give the girls a break. I've told Pam you would. She was expecting you before now." This was the ultimate rebuke. I was relegated to women's work.

I walked into the kitchen. Pam was already there. I apologized for being late. (I thought, why was I sorry when they hadn't even told me to be back.) "Just try to be on time. When dinner is late, it throws the whole house off"--a severe scolding from quiet Pam. Pam left and I fixed dinner.

Dinner was ready on time. Pam got back after everyone was served and said with amazement, "you got everything done on time. "Wow! Praise the Lord." I wondered if she had hoped I wouldn't.

Saturday night was another Maranatha concert--this time in the tent. I didn't want to stay for the afterglow so I waited in the truck with a few others. Phil came out and told us to go back in for the service. I felt like a small child being admonished and knew I had another black mark against me.

We spent Sunday at Church. Phil didn't talk to me at all. It was my Sabbath Day (day off from work), so I spent my time in the living room reading the Bible and talking to the Brothers and Sisters. After Sunday night church service I went straight to bed, guessing that two days of silence meant no one was going to throw me out. I was already looking forward to Tuesday when I could get out and train police for a week.

The next morning I got up with the rest of the group and did my chores. About eight o'clock I stopped to listen to Ken who said he was leaving with James and Milton for Oklahoma to go into the ministry.

Phil asked me to step into the office to talk to Stan (another Elder) and him. There were no chairs except for the green one. I was instructed to sit down, once again in the hot seat. Phil sat on the desk. Stan stood silently to one side.

They began with another short prayer. "Lord make the hearts manifest here, Amen." (I had been told before that this meant expose the liars.)

Phil started, "We're just wondering where you're at, what you are here for, and all that."

I told him I wasn't sure. I thought I was called to use my academic talent to tell the story of Christian Chapel. I told him I would like to stay at Mansion Messiah another week, then go to the other Christian houses to learn about them.

When I finished I was met with a prolonged silence. I asked Phil, "What are you thinking?" He seemed surprised at my question, then used his convenient evasion. "Me? I'm not thinking anything. I'm waiting on the Lord." It was obvious these conversations were to remain one-way.

Phil closed his eyes for some time and then let me have it. "Roy, you better get out of here--I mean out of the house. Stan and I prayed with some of the other Brothers last night. The Lord told us you are of the

Devil. If you don't leave, we will have to punish you. You had better be gone before the other Brothers find you are still around. We're old scripture when it comes to the Devil. You know, an eye for an eye."

I didn't need to hear any more. I packed my stuff and left. Frankly, I was glad it was over. I couldn't have stood much more. Getting stoned on Jesus is a heavy trip!

CHAPTER VII

STRUCTURE, STATUS, AND SOCIALIZATION

The structured nature of the formal organization and the status differentiation at Mansion Messiah made the socialization process total and complete. Mansion Messiah, to use Goffman's (1961) term, was a total institution. It was organized on strict lines of authority that were defined in the hierarchical structure of the organization. Sanctions were the primary form of learning. Few positive reinforcers were used. Punishment for deviance was psychologically severe and usually in the form of degradation ceremonies. Contact with the outside world was controlled and minimized.

The recruit, upon entry, knew immediately what was expected of him. I did. There was no question in my mind of my ability to control and influence my destiny. I had none. Staying at Mansion Messiah meant buying into an organization that assumed complete authority over its members. Only the leadership was allowed to think. The rest of us were there to react--to become part of the program.

What made Mansion Messiah a total institution were the assumptions that underlined the organizational matrix and its function. Symbolically, all power and authority were in the hands of Jesus. It was assumed that He was the ultimate authority who predetermined the destiny of the organization and membership. But when this doctrine was interpreted, Chuck Smith assumed a position nearly equal to Jesus. After all, he was one of the few that could communicate directly with the Lord.

This established Chuck as the major force in determining the organizational structure of the Christian houses. He built them on the model he knew best--the military. Each house had a commanding General, the Elder, who was appointed by and reported directly to the Chief of Staff, Chuck Smith. Below the Elder were his Lieutenants, the Deacon and Deaconess. They were responsible only to the Elder and their job was to supervise and control the membership.

This hierarchy was observed strictly. Members did not talk to Elders on formal house matters without first talking to the Deacon and Deaconess. The Deacon and Deaconess consulted with the Elder, and only the Elder was allowed to confer with Chuck. Chuck Smith maintained that this form of hierarchy was necessary to insure organizational discipline and control.

In addition to these formal patterns of power and authority prescribed by the organization structure, there was another layering based upon length of stay in the house and sex. Old hands had formal as well as informal control over recruits. Men were expected to exercise leadership and authority over women. Therefore, male old hands held a higher position in the hierarchy than female old hands and the Deaconess. In fact, new male recruits had authority over all women except the Deaconess. These complex relationships are diagrammed below.

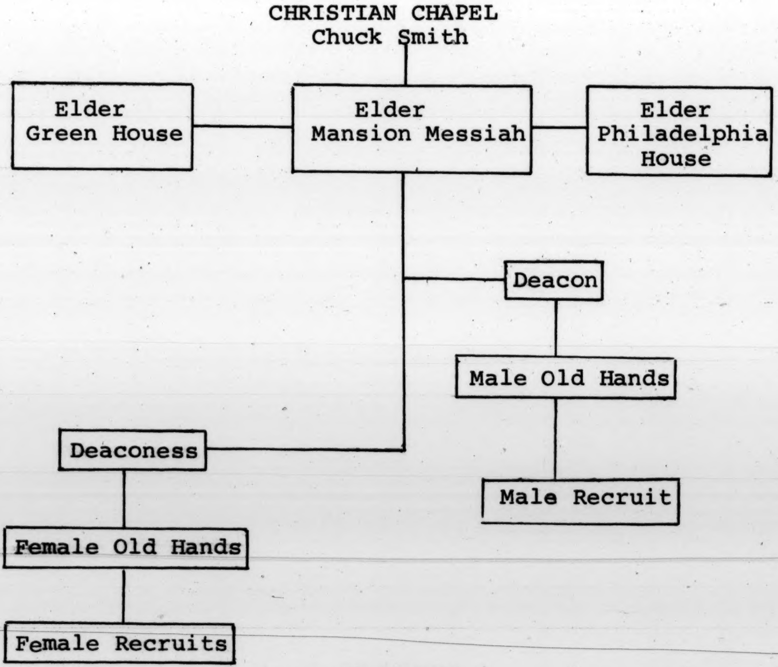

Figure 3

This hierarchy was textured on top of a complex system of formal and informal status relationships which helped reinforce the ability of the organization to control its members' behavior.

Formal status was assigned through the person's relationship with the Lord. This was the predominant means, other than sex type, in determining one's role in the community. The following diagram shows the status hierarchy associated with Jesus.

HIGH STATUS

Seeing Jesus

Prophesying

Speaking in Tongues

Baptised by the Holy Spirit
(laying on hands)

Salvation

LOW STATUS

During my stay at Mansion Messiah it became clear that those who moved up this status ladder received special recognition. For example, Phil treated Jesse with special respect, not normally shown women, after she had prophesied (see Chapter IV). He even took her to one of Churck's Bible study groups so she could share the experience with members from the larger congregation. From thi

XUM

this point on Jesse was a special person and prophesied weekly.

I never heard how a person moved through this hierarchy--what it was that cued him to perform an act that would assign him the next status level. I did recognize certain expectations, based upon time, for completion of one step to the next. In my case, after I had been at the house two weeks, it was clear that I had been there long enough to be Baptised in the Holy Spirit. And near the time I left I was feeling pressure to Speak in Tongues, so as to separate myself from the new recruits.

The top rung of the status ladder was reserved for those who had seen Jesus. Usually the only person to have ascended to this level of prominence was the Elder. The rest of the membership had not been "spirit-filled Christians" long enough to achieve such significance, and, in fact, were told that the Elder was the only one Jesus would appear before. If a regular member or recruit had a vision or dream in which Jesus appeared, they quickly learned that it was blasphemy and merely the Devil trying to trick them. I asked Phil one day how he knew it was Jesus who appeared in his visions.

He replied, "I am the Elder. I am the one Jesus Would appear before. Do you think He would allow Himself to be seen by an ordinary Christian, let alone a sinner?"

The only contradiction to this status demarcation came when an Elder left for a new ministry. Then the heir apparent was vested with a vision that established him as the new house leader.

I never discovered how the heir apparent decided it was time to have a vision. But in conversations with them, all three house Elders stated that they saw Jesus immediately after an interview with Chuck Smith.

Thus in seeing Jesus, the Elder or prospective Elder was invested with the ultimate status. This ritual legitimized the power and authority of the Elder's role by symbolically assigning him the right to control all those living under his leadership. It was a way of institutionalizing the dependency of the membership on the Elder and establishing "heirs to the throne" without internal power struggles.

The Elder's position of power and authority was shared to a degree with the Deacon and was recognized in a number of ways. First the Elder and Deacon were the only male old hands that did not have outside employment. During my stay at Mansion Messiah I never discerned what the Elder and Deacon did all day. I knew Phil spent most of his time with Chuck, trying to get into the main ministry at Christian Chapel. Barry, the Deacon, was either at the house or at the beach most of the time.

One day I asked a Sister, "Why don't Phil and Barry have outside jobs?"

"Oh, they don't work on the outside; it's a full time job running the house. Maybe they go to the bank or something."

She was at a loss to explain any visible accomplishments. It was obvious she knew it wasn't her place to question how the Elder and Deacon used their time.

A second example of the power and status associated with the role of Elder and Deacon was their control over the keys to the phone, tapes, house, and truck. Having the keys meant that the members who wanted to use these items had to get permission. This was one power the Deacon could use regardless of the presence of the Elder, although members usually sought permission from the Elder, if he was available.

Third, the Elder and Deacon had all the decision-making power in the commune. Never did the group decide or pray about an issue. God spoke only to the Elders and Deacons about house management. The Elder decided who should live in the house and who should stay. He decided when and where the Brothers would work. On an individual decision, the Elder might ask a member to pray about a decision, but only after the choices were determined. For example, when Granny arrived he didn't have a job. Phil told him to go down to the boat yard and apply for a job. If it were God's will he would get the job. Granny did get the job, but the options were arranged so that Phil made the decision and God legitimized it.

Lastly, the Elder was the ritual leader. He led Bible study in the house. Sometimes there was a guest speaker, but never was a Deacon or member allowed to lead. Moreover, the Elder decided when the members went to the tent for Bible study or when Bible study was at the house.

He also led the singing prayer before each meal, and afterward, offered the verbal prayer. The Deacon took over this duty when he was absent. Before the dinner prayer, the Elder made announcements or expressed disapproval over house matters. During group singing the Elder picked the songs and started them. Thus, the group never did anything without the Elder initiating it first.

Other responsibilities shared by the Elder and Deacon were the ritual of "laying on hands" and praying for the sick. At a joint supper with Philadelphia House, the Elders and Deacons of both houses laid on hands, as well as Tom, the guest speaker for the Bible study.

While praying for the sick was done by both the Elder and Deacon, the more serious cases were handled by the Elder. An example of this was when Cheryl had an infected leg. She was lying on the couch when the Deacon walked by. She asked him to pray for her leg. When he finished, she said to Phil, "Would you come over and pray for my leg? Barry just did but it's pretty bad. It gets worse every day. You want to see it?" Cheryl milked her sore leg for every ounce of sympathy, but her remarks reflected the attitudes of the group.

Pam, the Deaconess, was asked to pray for minor things like sore throats or hurt fingers. But she was asked only by the Sisters and then only when the ailment was minor. I had the feeling that it could be too small to bother the Elder with, but not too small to bother God.

In addition to these formal ways of assigning status, there were a series of informal practices that increased member's standing in the house. Some of these were:

1) Length of time a member has known the Lord: Status increased proportionately to the length of time one had been saved. One day Jesse was talking to a new recruit. She asked her how long she had known the Lord. The girl replied, "since I was eight."

"Wow! You are thirteen years old in the Lord. I'm only two. Wouldn't it be great to meet an old man who had known the Lord since he was ten."

2) Jesus Stories: Commune members regularly enjoyed a game of one-upsmanship telling stories about how Jesus had saved them. The one with the best story possessed

more status. If a member was consistently able to surpass others, as Granny did, he would gain permanent status as one that Jesus had blessed or touched.

3) Marked Bibles: The more a Bible was marked and underlined (color made a difference because it indicated repetition), the more a member had studied. Bible study held a high premium, and so one who spent a lot of time "into the Word" had to be respected.

4) Singing and playing musical instruments: If a member played a musical instrument (especially a guitar) or sang well he was a special person to be deferred to. Kim, who played the guitar and sang, received more recognition and equal treatment than any other woman in the house, including Pam.

5) Memorized scripture or songs: Those who had the most scripture or songs committed to memory had more prestige in the house.

These informal status denotations, in combination with those formally prescribed by the organization, served as powerful injunctions to reinforce the recruit's sense of insecurity and difference. In essence, they told him: "You are different. If you want to belong to this community you must conform to the accepted paths of membership. That is, achieving such status denotation." Thus, to meet the expectations of the new culture, the recruit was forced to make side bets (Becker and Kantner, 1972). These side bets occurred when members made psychological investments toward cultural commitment which, over a period of time, meant that leaving the group would be more expensive than staying. For example, when a new recruit entered the Jesus community he was expected to give up much of his old behaviors and adopt those of the commune. Somewhere around the third month these investments rose to a point where it was more expensive, psychologically, to leave than stay. So, we see that the structure of the institution and the socialization processes worked together to produce commitment mechanisms that subtly kept old hands in the commune.

A conversation I had with Pam illustrates this point. I asked why she and some of the old hands didn't leave the house.

She said, "I don't have any other life outside Mansion Messiah and Jesus. There's nothing out there but sin and despair. I've been here long enough to know that perfect peace and love can only be found here. I never want to leave."

Pam was talking about the side bets she had invested in Mansion Messiah. She and some of the others had been there long enough to realize that there would be severe adjustment problems if they were to return to the outside world, and to many it wasn't worth the costs.

Pam's feelings and those of the other old hands led me to the predominant conclusion of this experience, and that is, that immediate situations exert compelling influence on individual conduct. Self identity exists as a very malleable phenomenon that can be shaped to fit new situations. If one wants to change individual or group behavior, the point of intervention must be shifted from the individual to the structure of the organization.

Typically, most theories dealing with organization change do not reflect this position but rather designate the individual as the point of impact. In other words, they believe that if the individual changes, the organization will also change. For example, at the latest conference on New Organization Change Technologies held by National Training Laboratories of Washington, D. C. (long considered the leader in this field), only one out of fifteen presentations dealt with structural change methodology. Therefore, even though other ideas have been set forth, it must be assumed that the individual still reigns as the focal point for organization change efforts.

There is, however, a legacy of research that says this is not so. From the early Fleishman (1955) studies on leadership training to the current evaluation of T-Groups

(Frelander 1972) in organizations, it is apparent that new behaviors are not integrated into old structures. At best, the individual recognizes this disparity and leaves the organization in search of one more suited to his value system. At worst, these people become so frustrated that they actually manifest negative behavior.

The Tabistock group led by Emmery, Trist, and Rice; the U.C.L.A. group on Socio-Technical Systems; and individuals such as Neely Gardner at the University of Southern California have professed this position for some time and have implemented it in their work with large organizations.

In my opinion, we would do well to learn from organizations such as Mansion Messiah, realizing that institutional structure provides powerful levers for obtaining the desired outcomes in membership behavior. Philosophy of dependency and sacrifice was advocated and the organization was structured to support that philosophy, at the same time socializing the membership to believe in that system. The process is powerful. Introduce people to new structures and they will adapt. If different behavior is desired, change the structure.

This point has profound implications for those interested in social policy. It suggests the need for major reform in the helping services, radically altering their pragmatic thrust away from the pathologies of the individual to the redesign of institutional structures and their corresponding socialization systems.

Let me substantiate this statement with two remarkable studies. The first was conducted in August 1971 by Professor Zimbardo, a Stanford University psychologist. (Faber 1972) Zimbardo was studying the effects prisons have on people. To carry out this investigation, he chose to simulate prison life. He first built a replica of an actual prison and then selected the inmate and custodial population from male graduate students. Some of the graduate students became prisoners, some became guards. The experiment was to run two weeks. But at the end of three days, it had to be terminated. In the simulated prison environment the graduate students had established, in fact, a real prison culture. Those playing the role of prisoners had begun to manifest all of the pathologies found among inmate populations throughout this country. They showed signs of severe paranoia and deep depression. This was projected at the staff and at those playing the guards in the form of hatred, hostility, and aggression.

In the case of the graduate students who played the guards, it took only a few hours for them to adopt the stereotype of the prison guard. As they shoved, brutalized and harassed the prisoners, it was evident that this was a chance to unleash a sadistic side of their personalities not heretofore exposed. It was no wonder Zimbardo canceled the experiment in only three days.

The second study was also from Stanford University. The objectives of the research, as reported, were investigation of the degree of proficiency and consistency exhibited in diagnosis and treatment of mental illness. The research design called for a number of psychologically healthy people to turn themselves in to several mental hospitals. They were instructed to go in the hospital, complain of hearing strange noises, and commit themselves. From that point on they were to play it "straight" answering all questions and taking all tests as they would normally.

Each of the experimental patients was declared insane and in a short time his normal behavior in the hospital was viewed as bizarre and antagonistic by the hospital's staff. The only people able to see through this charade were the "sick" patients with whom the researchers were committed. They quickly saw the members of the experimental group for what they were and accused them of being journalists or professors trying to uncover facts about mental hospitals.

These studies demonstrate the fallacy of social programs that attempt individual behavioral change in an environment that is at odds with the desired change. Prison and mental hospitals are not structured for success. They will never rehabilitate their clients as long as the structural dynamics of the institution do little more than support and contribute to the pathologies.

What is needed is the development and application of social technologies that rely upon structural interventions rather than individual therapies. We must consider re-designing our social institutions, including the family, so they possess structures and socialization systems that are compatible with the desired behavioral outcomes. It is well beyond this dissertation to outline a full treatment model based upon structural redesigns, but let it suffice to say that, in my opinion, if we continue on our present course, we will be pouring millions of dollars into programs that are ineffective.

Coda

In closing I hope this dissertation will encourage others to investigate contemporary social phenomena. The general public desperately needs a rigorous and scientific explanation of the events that surround it. These are too important to be left to mere journalistic narrow sightedness, but must be explored in depth with vigorous investigation that reflects the reality of unfolding events.

I especially hope there will be others that become interested in the exploration of adult socialization. I believe there is a promise of better understanding man's thinking and operation in the social world by gaining insight into the way he learns how to behave in different social settings.

Areas I find particularly intriguing for further research are:

1) The Socialization of Unwed Fathers
2) The Socialization of the Men in Women's Liberation
3) The Socialization of a Gay Marriage
4) Learning to Govern: How Big City Mayors Learn the Rules of Government

This list could go on and on. I have only included those subjects that presently interest me. I am sure there are many others that if investigated and reported would shed valuable information about what is needed to understand man in a changing world.

APPENDIX A

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

1. afterglow - a portion of a Christian service (usually at the end) reserved for only Christians baptized the Holy Spirit. It is usually conducted with the lights low and serves to set a dramatic mood for speaking in tongues, prophesying, and communal prayer. It often produces a trance-like quality in the Christians that participate in this form of worship.

2. backsliding - making mistakes, getting away from God and Christian life. Traditional church term (for fundamentalists)

3. baptism of the Holy Spirit - second step (after salvation) Christian has to make. Marks higher status. Its separation from salvation distinctive of this movement.

4. bear witness to me - the Holy Spirit interpreting a scripture to someone reading the Bible.

5. blessing - anything good. Sometimes suffering - when they are looking for a way to make it better.

6. demon possessed - scripturally-based term for extreme deviant. Expulsion from Christians is the prescribed action.

7. the Enemy - Satan. Forces of evil. Often credited for actions or thoughts implanted in the speaker.

8. fleshed around - becoming of the world. Slipping in the Christian walk. Making mistakes. A sin to be prayed for, to ask forgiveness and deliverance from.

9. God bless - goodbye. Again, common usage connotes higher status.

10. Holy Spirit laid on my heart - a decision given to the speaker by the Holy Spirit. Used almost exclusively by the Elder.

11. in the word - reading the Bible. Where a Christian gets his strength. Recommended action for Christian who's having trouble with his walk.

12. murmuring - complaining

13. of the spirit - opposite of "of the world". Good. God-like. Can also mean "coming from the Holy Spirit," as in interpreting a scripture. The only goal is to be more of the spirit.

14. of the world - refers to pre-Christian or extra-Christian life. All bad. Satan's domain. Essential separation into good and evil, weak and strong.

15. prophesying - gift of the Holy Spirit, interpreting those speaking in tongues, acting as medium through which God speaks. Higher status than speaking in tongues.

16. puffed up - conceited

17. rapture - the Second Coming of Christ, which is to be soon. Not distinguishing between Rapture and Second Coming is also characteristic of this group.

18. share - talk, tell, preach to. Part of the "brotherly love" vocabulary necessary to gain higher status.

19. speaking in tongues - gift of the Holy Spirit. Marks transition into higher status. Distinctive feature of this portion of the Jesus Movement.

20. witnessing - any talking to anyone about Christ. Talking seems more important than actions. ("The witness of a good Christian life")

APPENDIX B

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. In a few sentences could you describe your "life style" before conversion to your walk with Jesus?

What's it like now?

2. Do your parents favor your conversion (Circle one)

   Yes
   No
   Don't care one way or the other
   Don't know about it

3. Are your parents Christians?

   Yes
   No

4. Were you brought up as a Christian?

   Yes
   No

5. In a few sentences could you describe where you were and what you were doing the moment you found Jesus?

6. Have you been baptized in the Holy Spirit?

Yes
No

7. Have you ever had the experience of speaking in tongues?

Yes
No

8. Have you ever had the experience of prophesying?

Yes
No

9. Would you describe your childhood as:

Happy with few worries
Unhappy with a lot of problems

10. Before conversion how many times did you use marijuana?

Never
Few times (1-2)
Occasionally
Weekly
Every day

How about now after conversion, do you still use marijuana?

Yes
No

11. How many times have you tried LSD?

Never
Few times (1-2)
Occasionally
Weekly
Every day

12. How often did you get high on uppers and downers?

Never
Few times (1-2)
Occasionally
Weekly
Every day

13. How many times have you tried heroin?

Never
Few times (1-2)
Occasionally
Weekly
Every day

14. If you were a heroin addict, how long had you been using before your walk with Jesus?

____

15. Should young adults experiment with six before marriage?

Yes
No

16. Would you describe yourself before conversion, in terms of your sexual experience, as:

Inexperienced: No sexual intercourse

Average: With one or two experiences involving sexual intercourse

Experienced: With a number of experiences involving sexual intercourse

17. In a few sentences could you discuss your sexual life style since your conversion?

18. Prior to conversion would you have described yourself politically as:

Conservative
Middle of the Road
Liberal
Radical-New Left
No Interest

How about now: how would you describe yourself politically? (Please use one of the above descriptions)

19. Are you . . . . .

Male
Female

20. What is your age?

____

21. Are you married?

Yes
No

22. If "Yes" to # 21 are you . . .

Living together
Divorced or separated

23. Do you now live in a Christian House?

Yes
No

24. If "Yes" to # 23, how long have you lived there?

____

25. Are your parents . .

Living together
Divorced or separated
Mother deceased
Father deceased
Both parents deceased

26. If your parents are divorced or separated:
How old were you when the divorce took place?

1-2 years old
6-11 years old
12-16 years old
17 years old or older

27. What was your religious affiliation before conversion, if any?

Protestant
Catholic
Jewish
No Religion

28. What type of work were you doing before conversion?

____

29. What was the last year of schooling you have completed?

Grade: 8 9 10 11 12 College: 1 2 3 4 5 6 or more

30. What type of work does your father do for a living?

____

31. What type of work does your mother do for a living?

____

32. Circle the last year of schooling your father completed:

Grade: 8 9 10 11 12 College: 1 2 3 4 5 6 or more

33. Circle the last grade of schooling your mother completed:

Grade: 8 9 10 11 12 College: 1 2 3 4 5 6 or more

34. Where were you born and raised?

____

____

35. How long have you been a Christian?

____

36. Are you a . . . .

Minister
Elder
Deacon
Christian

37. How often did you attend church before your conversion?

Didn't attend
Attended on special occasions only
Attended about once a month
Attended every week

38. Which of the following types of school activities do (or did you) regularly participate in, if any?

Student government
School athletics
Social clubs
Special interest
2 or 3 above
All of the above
None of these sorts of activities

39. Who would you say made (or makes) most of the day-to-day rules and decisions for your family?

Your mother
Your father
Other________________

40. How important was religion in guiding your decisions and actions in your daily life, before your conversion?

Not important
Important

41. Within your family did you (or do you) usually find it easier to discuss things with:

Your father
Your mother
Both father and mother
Your brother or sister
None of the family

APPENDIX C

I. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

TABLE 1

SEX-AGE

Age	Sex	
	Male	Female
26-28	3	1
23-25		1
20-22	18	4
17-19	8	9
15-16	1	1
Total	30	16

Mean age = 20.3

TABLE 2

PART OF THE COUNTRY RAISED

West	23
Mid-West	6
South	14
East	3
Total	46

TABLE 3

MARRIED	
Yes	4*
No	42
Total	46

*Two reported living together; two divorced

TABLE 4

TYPE OF WORK BEFORE CONVERSION

None	12	Navy	1
Student	10	Mechanic	2
Construction	8	Lifeguard	1
Secretary-Office Clerk	4	Musician	1
Sales woman	3	Disneyland Ride-Operator	1
Waiter-Waitress	2	Prostitute	1

Total 46

TABLE 5

PARENTS OCCUPATION

	Blue Collar	White Collar	Housewife	Totals
Father	29	17	0	46
Mother	10	18	18	46

TABLE 6

EDUCATION

Last Year of School Attended

	Interviewee	Father	Mother
Elementary School	0	4	2
7-8	0	2	6
9-10	5	3	9
11-12	23	17	8
1-2	12	3	10
3-4	6	8	3
5-6	0	7	5
Totals	46	44*	43*

*Totals differ because some information was not ascertained.

II. FAMILY RELATIONS

TABLE 7

FEELINGS ABOUT CHILDHOOD

Happy	26
Unhappy	20
Total	46

TABLE 8

PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS

Living together	31
Divorced or separated	13
Mother deceased	0
Father deceased	1
Both parents deceased	1
Total	46

TABLE 9

AGE WHEN PARENTS' DIVORCE TOOK PLACE

1 to 2 years old	1
6 to 11 years old	6
12 to 16 years old	5
17 years old	1
Total	13

TABLE 10

CLOSEST RELATIONSHIP IN FAMILY

Father	7
Mother	7
Both	1
Sibling	15
None	16
Total	46

TABLE 11

WHO MADE FAMILY DECISIONS

Father	27
Mother	14
Both	3
Other	2
Total	46

III. RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

TABLE 12

RELIGIOUS DATA

	Yes	No	Don't Know	Totals
Parents favor conversion	32	6	8	46
Parents Christian	17	29		46
Brought up as a Christian	20	26		46
Live in a Christian Commune	45	1		46
Baptized in Holy Spirit	46	0		46
Experience in Speaking in Tongues	39	7		46
Experience in Prophesying	8	38		46

TABLE 13

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION BEFORE CONVERSION

Protestant	27
Catholic	8
Jewish	1
None	10
Total	46

TABLE 14

CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Never	22
Special occasions	7
Once a month	4
Once a week	13
Total	46

TABLE 15

IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION IN MAKING DECISIONS (BEFORE CONVERSION)

Not important	38
Important	8
Total	46

UNEDITED DESCRIPTIONS OF CONVERSION:

1. I became a Christian as a young child. I told Christ I wanted Him to come into my heart at a Baptist Church one Sunday. I was about 7 years old. At this point, however, I did not give my life to Jesus; I did not yield myself to Him. In the fall of my senior year in high school God began dealing with me and showing me what it meant to be a Christian. I believe this was my true conversion.

2. I was in Monterrey Mexico with my sister, who was in the hospital (she had just been in a bad automobile accident) Some spirit-filled Christians visited us (they were missionaries). I was then in a terrible emotional state.

3. I was in the kitchen of one of my best friend's house. Her mother really laid me out about the sin and hypocrisy in my life. I was almost at the point of a nervous breakdown out of my sin - especially the involvement with drugs and sex. I wanted the frenchman to come to church so I'd have it easier from my parents. I really did not know Jesus or what He could do or even wanted to do. Was contemplating suicide.

4. I had gone to this church for several nights in a row to hear a guy named Brian Rudd. It was the first time I had been in church in several years and I was impressed by the truth that was presented, but there was also a lack of sectarian pride which really impressed me.

5. I came down from Oregon to visit a girlfriend who had rededicated her life to Jesus and she brought me over to some brothers' house and the love there floored me and I rededicated my life.

6. At a youth rally about 2½ years ago at Melodyland.

7. In my room trying to run from a loving God who was dealing with me about my sin.

8. I was on methadone in Orange County, one night I was so confused I shoot up with junk and went to Calvery. Chuck Smith was speaking I saw the love of Jesus all around me that night was when my life changed I have friends who care for me now and the love of Jesus.

9. Anaheim Stadium listening to a sermon.

10. I was at a Consecration Camp with Winkie Pratney. I was led there by God. At the moment I found Jesus, I was honestly reasoning with Him about the motivation of my life.

11. I was in Germany.

12. I was at Calvary Chapel when I came back.

13. I was in college attending a chapel service when I realized the life I was living was a dead-end street in which I only wanted to please myself. I became aware of the fact that I had been hurting a loving God.

14. I had hitch-hiked to Laguna Beach and found a friend that was living in Green House. He got down on the sidewalk in Laguna and prayed for me, that night I went to Green House where I found the Lord. I moved in and my life has been beautiful every since.

15. At a Maranatha Concert at the Long Beach Auditorium.

16. At a Christian House in San Clemente, Calif. Some Christians had a short talk with my friend and myself and I asked God to forgive me and come into my life.

17. I was at a revival at Evagelistic Temple, Houston, Tx. looking for truth to life. Also I had gone just for something to do (I thought it was just a lecture on drugs and didn't know I was going to a church)

18. I was praying and asking the Lord to forgive me.

19. I don't remember the day or situation.

20. I was alone stoned on acid listening to the Moody Blues and Jesus entered my spirit and spoke to me. In two seconds I was down on my knees praying.

21. I was at the commune at Huntington Beach.

22. I was sitting in my office typing at about 10:30 when I prayed and accepted Christ. I had been going out drinking every night that week with my new boyfriend who was a backslider Christian.

23. I believe I knew the reality of Christ as a child. It's very easy to leave something you take for granted. It was a process of months for the Spirit of God to work on me and reveal the life of Christ.

24. I was at Calvery Chapel lissining to Chuck Smith.

25. My probation officer introduced me to Chuck Smith he prayed for me, and then Jesus came into my life.

26. I was in Hollywood looking for kicks when I was witnessed to by a street Christian 4 days later I turned my life over to Jesus at Calvary Chapel

27. I was lieing in my bed (it was late at night). I knew that there had to be a better way to live and the things that Jesus seemed to stand for seemed to be a better way. I asked that, if he was real, to reveal himself to me and then asked him in.

28. I was in bed justing thinking about how depressed and empty I was and I found Jesus.

29. I was in a grocery store buying carrots and after 3 weeks of living around Christians I finally gave in! Praise God!

30. I was at a Spireno meeting listening to Richard Hogive preach. I came to realize God's love through His Son Jesus Christ.

31. I found a friend who was living in a Christian House in Laguna Beach he laid hands on me and I found the love of Jesus right there it was beautiful. Praise Lord.

32. I was at a friends house stoned on acid and I saw the Lord. That nigh I went to Calvery and went forward to find Jesus. He's real man! Praise Lord.

33. I went to a Brian Rudd meeting - I didn't actually meet Jesus at that meeting but afterwards - in the following week things in my life began to change and I realized that Christ had been what I was looking for.

34. Sitting in a park.

35. Doing an LSD trip

36. I was in my bed and at the "turning point" after a six a seven month period of going to church, fellowshiping with Christians, reading the Bible, and finally getting honest. I was just thinking about my life and the life I had come to realize was the most valuable to everyone involved. I decided to give my life to God

37. I was in my room on my knees seeking him after realizing that what I had been recently exposed to and at that moment I was willing to meet God's conditions rather than try to reach Him on my conditions. At this point I willfully turned from my selfish way of life and started to walk the straight path of fellowship with God by the sacrifice of my Savior, Jesus.

38. I was in the 7th grade when he really spoke with me but never made an open commitment until I was visited a church where people literally believed in Jesus. I didn't plan to accept him when I went in.

39. I was a freshman at Texas A & M Univ. One night I was reading Luke and Jesus was talking about the bridemains. It was then I saw who I was and then it all hit me at once. I then believed.

40. I was at the airport looking for dope. I saw these chicks who looked stoned they werent but were Christian. They converted me that night.

41. At a Baptist revival, downtown Houston.

42. I was in the woods - camping
Freaking out on mescaline

43. I came out to California from Indiana in specific search of God and the reality of His promises in His Word (the Bible). I knew it said "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God . . . and ye shall find" and that God on this condition "will provide" (This was all I could remember from the Bible) Well, God knew my heart was right and sincere, so of course, He took care of every detail on the journey out (so many things came our way, that is too fantastic to tell) and He has been leading & providing for my life ever since. That is how I know my Jesus is real (you couldn't ask for more)

44. I was at a church summer camp in August of 1971. We were in a service and I realized how much I was hurting God by the way I was living. The moment I found Jesus was when I was down on my knees repenting of ALL my sin. (meeting His conditions)

TABLE 16

LENGTH OF TIME A CHRISTIAN AND COMMUNE MEMBER

	1-6 months	7-11 months	1-2 years	3 or more	Totals
Christian	9	11	20	6	46
Commune Member	21	5	20	0	46

TABLE 17

RANK IN CHRISTIAN COMMUNE

Minister	5
Elder	1
Deacon	1
Christian	39
Total	46

IV. LIFE STYLE

TABLE 18

PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

Student Government	2
School Athletics	5
Social Clubs	1
Special Interest	7
2 or 3 above	7
All of above	2
None	22
Total	46

TABLE 19

POLITICAL SELF-CHARACTERIZATION

	Before Conversion	After Conversion
Conservative	6	19
Moderate	9	13
Liberal	18	4
Radical	11	0
No Interest	2	10
Totals	46	46

TABLE 20

DRUG USE (BEFORE CONVERSION)

	Never	Few Times (1-2)	Occasionally	Weekly	Every Day	Totals
Marijuana	8	1	1	36	0	46
LSD	16	3	7	20	0	46
Barbituates and Amphetamines	10	11	2	17	6	46
Heroin	35	13	4	0	4	46

LENGTH OF HEROIN ADDICTION

6 months	1
2 years	1
2½ years	1
6 years	1
Total	4

DRUG USE (AFTER CONVERSION)

Never	Few Times	Occasionally	Weekly	Every Day	Total
46					46

TABLE 21

SEXUAL EXPERIENCE

	Before Conversion	After Conversion
Inexperienced (none)	10	46
Average	7	0
Experienced	29	0
Totals	46	46

TABLE 22

SHOULD YOUNG ADULTS EXPERIMENT WITH SEX BEFORE MARRIAGE

Yes	No	Total
0	46	46

UNEDITED DESCRIPTIONS OF LIFE STYLE BEFORE (a) AND AFTER (b) CONVERSION:

1a. I went to church all my life. I got good grades in school and I never took drugs. I was a "good" person. To others I was a good Christian but I was really a hypocrite. I was living for myself and only using Christ's name as a front so people would think I was alright. The main reason I didn't totally rebell was because I knew that there was a hell and I was afraid that that was where I was heading. I knew that I wasn't living the way I should but I tried to make up for it and appease my conscience by going to church, praying; and reading my Bible. I knew that wasn't right because the Bible says, "If you love Me, you will keep My commandments," and I wasn't doing that.

1b. Now that I have met God's conditions, I don't have to appease my conscience because my conscience is right before God. Knowing that Jesus dies for me because He, the One who created the universe, loved me is overwhelming. I owe Him my life and anything I go through for Him is nothing in comparison to what He went through for me.

2a. I was living in Germany doing drugs, sex

2b.

3a. I almost did all the same things as after conversion. I can see a complete change in motivation. In church activities, I always looked for the fun and led most often in the youth activities. Mostly seeking friends, dates, and respect I worked to be the best and most active.

3b. The greatest change is in my attitude and motivation. Now I would rather see a person come and give all to God. I no longer care what others think but I want to be used to see others find Christ the only answer. He is worthy to be served and put above all else.

4a. My life was the usual lonely, bitter, unsatisfied youth who's whole thought life was based on emotion & selfish gain.

4b. Obviously when I turned my back on selfishness and returned to my intelligence of choosing for the highest good of God and his universe. Mark 12^{30-31}

5a. I was in Seattle Washington, with a $50 a day heroin habit, a prostitute at 17 to support my habit, parents that wanted to put me in a mental institution. My life was a mess.

5b. I have peace and love my life is real and simple. I can sleep at night in the glory and love of Jesus Christ.

6a. Deeply involved in drug use. Irrationable, irresponsible uncoropetave with any authority. Not any purpose in life, walking a slow road to death. Only real interest was selfish advancement of my own desires.

6b. Trying to the best of my ability to walk in the steps of Jesus. Only by the grace of God may this walk be made. And I thank God Christians may live a victorious life over sin! Helping others to find the joy of serving God instead of themselves.

7a. Drugs, Sex, and money was my way of life. I got into burgluries for awhile but that got cut short when I got busted. Ever since I was 14 my life was nothing but in & out of jail, trouble, and on & off probation.

7b. Freedom from sin. I dont have to do rong or be loaded to be happy. Theres a peace about my life. I havent had any trouble from the law. Praise the Lord!

8a. I was living in Portland with a homosexual friend - taking a lot of speed & downers w/his friends Working as a maid for a friend who was my boss. I was very different - kind of sad.

8b. My life style now is a lot more mellow - not the ups and downs so much anymore. Morally upright now & content.

9a. As far as appearences go, I was a fairly moral person. I wasnt smoking, drinking, or using any kind of drug, although my sex life was still pretty active. My main goal in life was the communist ideal and I didn't want any hinderances. However, my mind was very troubled, and I was very much out of harmony with myself.

9b. It seems like everything I looked for before conversion, and did not find, found its proper perspective. I didn't have many physical things to clean up, but I found the wall of absolutes that I could lean on without it moving.

10a. I was a fashion model with high aspirations to go to Parsons in New York to study design then have a career of my own designing clothes, shoes, & fabric. I did not want to marry because I liked "freedom." Needless to say, I was conceited and very selfish. I was in love with a Frenchman who was in the Moffia and strung out on drugs. My parents were not happy with me - so to get in better with them, I went to church regularly - I even sang in the choir! When I finally got convicted about my life I realized I was a hypocrite & a Pharasee! I had hated the churchgoers that were "trying" because I though they were hypocrites.

10b. I am free! God saved the frenchman & is raising him up as minister to junkies. I am content with any situation the Lord places me in - I love serving Him! I had truly rather have Jesus than anything! He healed me from cancer last January - he also saved both our lives from drugs & from the Mob. I no longer want a career of my own, but only want to do the Lord's work. I also will marry if God tells me to!

11a. I was a normal kid until about 9th-11th grade when I started play in a rock group - then I gradually started doing drugs (mostly marijuna) thru high school and when I finished school, dope & music was my trip. I got lonlier & more depressed each day especially after moving into Houston from a small town.

11b. My life now is full of anticipation & excitement in seeing how the Lord is pouring out his Holy Spirit upon this earth in these "latter days." I thank God for deliverance from habits that would have probably led me to an early grave with hope for an eternal life without Christ.

12a. My life before Jesus in one word was Hipocrisy. The darkness I lived in did not allow me to look at myself and see my iniquity and my sin, yet I spotted quickly in others. I was involved in dope, drinking, and sex. I knew these things were wrong but I had no reason not to do them until I realized that Jesus really loved me and that my sin hurt him.

12b. Now Christ is my life. He has showed me the darkness I was in and has allowed me to see His light. The Bible is the blueprint for life. The only way a person can have true peace, love, and joy is to live according the Bible. However, no man can live this by his own power - it must be through the power of Jesus (of His Holy Spirit). My life style is now daily submitting to God's Spirit so that Jesus can live the "Bible life" through me. My desire is to glorify God and be His servant.

13a. My life was empty and like everyone else I was very lonely. There was a constant battle of right and wrong in me. I didn't get along with people at all. I was into drugs, sex, and weird things like astronomy, horoscopes.

13b. I have found a peace inside myself. I've found that Christ can fill any emptiness, any need I have. I have someone to take my prayers to. Hes given me happiness, abundant life (Just as he promised)

14a. I knew of God. But, didn't know Him. I became converted just as drugs were coming in, so I never got involved in that culture. Running with the "social" party crowd, was my life style - booze & sex.

14b. Totally different, as it should be with a true Christian. Living wholely to please God in everything I do. I no longer do the things I used to do. When a person becomes a Christian he should repent (which is not taught in a lot of the Jesus Movement) and turn away from what he was been doing. This is to show that there really has been a change of heart.

15a. I never knew my father, we lived in the ghetto of Portland my mother took in ironing. By the time I was in high school I was into drugs, meditation. At 16 I moved into a commune, started using heroin, and become student body president; near the end of my senior year I left school and hitch-hiked to California. With all of that I never found the truth.

15b. I have the truth. There is no other reality except Jesus. I have a simple life with love and truth and the holy spirit inside me.

16a. Drinking, parties, drugs, police station cells, continueation schools. I looked for a lasting trip in excitement and or happiness in these things, and got neither. Oh, one thing I did get out of these things, busted.

16b. I found that Jesus Christ is the only way to be truly happey. Like on drugs - far-out trip until you come down. Then you end up in a more depressed mood than when you started out. But with Christ theres a constant high (happiness).

17a. Apathetic, pacifist, couldn't care less, lazy. Only if something concerned me in one or another did I care.

17b. I'm giving as much as I can to help others. Living up to what I know to be true. It's a total reverse from selfishness to total unselfishness.

18a. Not responsible. Incoherent. Had doubts about the authenticity of the Bible. I thought about a utopia; doing drugs to help the world gain a communication with a God and a better life of freedom to things one wanted to do, even if it was against social standards.

Rebellious against society starting in the 7th grade, end up on heroin. I thought about the opposite sex (female) constantly. Living a perverted life. Was also a thought. Though I never could do it, but kept sliding this way.

18b. Wow! I came to a place where I died, so the Holy Spirit could come and live. Controlled thoughts. No drugs. My mind has been restored. Living is a joy. I really love everybody, I have responsibility. I know were my head is. I believe the Bible verbatum. I'm just following the leading of the Holy Spirit.

19a. I was very lonely. Druged alot, hated my parents, and I was very scared of God when I would get high.

19b. I'm very happy. Don't get into any trouble (bad trouble) and I LOVE JESUS! that's all it takes to change anything.

20a. Having come into the light, my whole goal in life is to experience more of this light. Before, I was blindly stumbling around in the darkness. I was into drugs a little bit and just starting to get into meditation. I wasn't satisfied with life yet I didn't know where to turn, so I was living in despair.

20b. Peace of mind, always. Knowing that the world's endless cycle of despair is going to be smashed at the 2nd coming of Christ has given me a hope based on a fact (the resurrection). Fear and frustration is not part of my present life style. Also, I no longer claim this world as my home. Im a pilgrim. I'm a new creature. I'm born again, really.

21a. I was an acid freak, with no friends, no life, everything was dope and sex.

21b. Now I have love in Jesus his spirit fills me and I have people around me who care for me.

22a. I was going to college & getting bummed out on the condition of this world, ecologically & population wise. I was getting drunk alot I had no inner peace or security.

22b. Great. I live in a Christian Commune. Our ministry is to witness the gospel to people, counsel people who have accepted Jesus at Calvary Church & help guide people who come to the House.

23a. I was working in an office part time and attending Loyola University (chgo) I was hung up on drugs and actively involved in radical politics, especially the Chicago Womens Liberation Union. My apartment was a crash pad for anyone, and we had frequent parties. I stayed out late every night, and was usually from 1-4 hours late to work every morning. The intellectual part of my life was pretty important - I was a good student, and ambitious. I did everything my flesh wanted & had everything I wanted, but was very unhappy Also, I was going to a shrink because of the drugs. A frustrating drag!

23b. Now, I live in a Christian commune studying the Bible, preaching the Gospel, and leading a very regular life. Instead of living for the fleshly and intellectual desires, the spiritual side of my life is now the most important. My life is very happy and peaceful now.

About a month ago, I went back and visited my old shrink, and he was amazed at the change Jesus has made. For the first time in my life, I can give and receive love, and its really neat - Praise Jesus.

24a. I had a very unsure life. I was confused about which direction to apply my life. I got deeply involved about age 15 with Rock music & drugs. I was a rock musician for about two years. I finially realized about age 17 how empty my life was.

24b. Fulfilled.

25a. I took Drugs, Drank all the time, cussed all the time, I loved Sex and smoking pot, I was a self centered person, and very loney person, I was looking for peace and love but never found it till I met Jesus.

25b. Jesus came into my life and took all the hate, wanting of drugs and desires of almost all the things I use to do. Now I have perfect peace with my self and God and Everyone, I don't get mad like I use to. I love Everyone and Everything.

26a. I was a Hell's Angel; in jail for dope and rape; made love with men. My life was my motorcycle, sex, dope. and hurting people.

26b. I love people and Jesus who really care about me; I love my fellow man and want to help them find the love of the Lord.

27a. My life was centered around drugs. And the drug culture I had a plastic personality Because I didn't know who I really was or how I was suppose to act. I was also a deeply lonely person.

27b. I have quit searching for my identity. Because I know the lord has my life all worked out. I have a total iner peace. The day Jesus came in drugs went out. Jesus fulfilled the thing I was searching for with drugs.

28a. I used speed and smoked marijuana fairly constantly. I had a couple of good girlfriends. I rarely had boyfriends because I disliked their lack of honesty towards me. I had a happy home life. I had a healthy amount of responsibilities and was (and this is according to my parents and friends) mature in my outlook on life But!!! I wasn't complete.

28b. and I am now. Jesus fills my life with joy when I am troubled by outside conflicts or inner emotional problems, I pray and God fills me with his peace (unlike any the world ever gives) I am complete in Him and because I know it, it makes me feel good. I dont' know how to explain it really. Jesus answers all my cares. He is a refuge, a source - the source of true love, my lord and Father and I love him.

29a. I was getting loaded, having sex and running a very lonely life. In time I was afraid of people and life and found it very hard to handle life.

29b. Its still hard to handle at times but now I'm not a part of the world any longer. Jesus is my strength and I can feel him molding me.

30a. Average doper with sexual activities & Eastern relegions taking up most of my time. Astrology basically ruled my every move. My job, personal life, & family life were all influenced by my astrological power & Eastern (zen Buddhist) philosophy. My favorite activities involved sex, drugs & practising Yoga. And I was unhappy & a sinner.

30b. I study the Bible each day, am filled with joy deep down in my heart & live in a commune filled with brothers and sisters who share with me the love of the Lord. I am now happy & a forgiven sinner.

31a. I had a real pessimistic attitude of life and lived like it. I was real "cool." I did a few drugs, not many at all though. That wasn't a real problem. But I had no ambition, didn't have any cares and just worked to sustain myself. I felt the world would end and didn't think I could do anything to help so I just wanted to get away. I couldn't kill myself cause I was to scared but I want to get away from society or civilization.

31b. Through Jesus Christ and the love and grace that He shows us, I have a hope in the future. The fact that I know this world is not the end of time. Praise God. To share that is joyous.

32a. I lived in a commune in North California with free sex dope, and dead people. Heroin was the only thing I lived for. I left my kids and wife and was on way to my own funeral.

32b. My life is filled with the love of God. I am happy in a Christian marriage with the Lord inside of me.

33a. I was a spaced out acid "freak" living on $50 a month; eating only peanut butter and spending the rest of my money for dope. I was put in a mental institution twice. I was crazy.

33b. The word is peaceful. The Lord is my shepard I don't have to worry anymore.

34a. I was a very selfish-self-centered person. I was doing drugs. I couldn't get along with people - I hated very many. I had a terrible relationship with my parents - I thought of suicide often. I felt so alone all the time. I didn't care about anybody or anything.

34b. I realized I was living away from God & I changed my ways. I now have a purpose in life. I get along great with my parents. I get along with people. I'm no longer unhappy. I quit drugs. I am walking completely in another direction.

35a. I can only think of one word "DEAD"

35b. Very much alive.

36a. My life style was getting stoned and going to school and minding my own business; looking out for myself.

36b. Serving Christ as He would show me each day. The love He has for me is astounding. I am learning to abide in His love more & more by reading His word.

37a. I was pretty "unaware" of anyone but myself. I dug all the music scene and everything that went along with being a musicians, ie, glory, girls etc. I was extremely frustrated and insecure. I needed a girl or music or something to always keep me occupied so as not to have too much time to think because I had no answers as to why I existed, where I was going or why I couldn't find real love in anything or anyone.

37b. Now I've discovered how to love unselfishly. Now I'm "un-concerned" about myself. I don't want or need any glory. I am honestly not thinking of "me-first" anymore. Now I want the "highest good of God and His universe" "Love God with all you heart, soul, mind and strength, and your neighbor as yourself"

38a. It probably could be discribed as existential or rebellion against any form of absolutes. Leading a selfish life such as this I set my own system of rules, moral and social. As a direct result of this self pleasure principle I adopted the immorality and drugs of our culture. Philosophy was the direction I chose to fulfil my need for meaning or purpose in life. Every endeavor seemed illogical in some respect which was extremely frustrating. I finally settled into a life of "natural living" and "freedom" and a vegetarian.

38b. The frustration is gone, selfishness is gone. Life is a joy and not just existance. Christianity fills the gaps of logic in all its areas. It cleanses the guilt instead of excusing it. But the true beauty of a life with Jesus is the love relationship with our Creator, for which we were originally created. Life now is happiness that doesn't have to be worked up But is there due to the peace that Christ gives . . . it lasts even when things don't go well, happiness.

39a. I had a religious background in the Baptist church and was regular in most church activities. I tried to find most of my satisfaction in chicks. I never was really bad on the standards I set for myself untill I was about seventeen. It was then I became a real pagan.

39b. It seems like I dead or not thinking back them. Not every moment not is a pleasant trip, but do know who I am & who God. I now know more about love & hate, right & wrong and what perfect joy and happiness is.

40a. I would go to the beach as much as possible, be involved with as few organizations at school as possible, and otherwise try and escape from the screwed-up world that I saw.

40b. Seeking a closer walk with Jesus trying to become complete in Him (Col. 1:28) Trying to give more of my life over to Him. My main motivation within the body is to see more people giving their lives to Jesus. It seems so shallow to say this statement when everyone says it. But I really feel it. To often we get caught up being fellowship-freaks and rely on brothers & sisters to spoon feed us. Its so easy to put on the "Jesus-act" or "Jesus-mask" without having any real content to our lives.

41a. I was a pretty straight person - went to college and finished. Was bored most of the time, not even challenged on the campus scene. The best thing at college was having my mind opened and meeting all kinds of people, but still could only communicate with them up to a certain point - each were on their own "fun" trips, but did not have much depth or life to them. Then coming out into the "real" world, after getting that diploma was also a big blow and let-down particularly in the education field, which was my major.

41b. I'm completely satisfied. I know who God is and how personal He is to me. Life in Jesus is the essence of what everyone is looking for - identity and fulfillment of personality and life that of peace, joy, love, confidence, direction, etc., - all in its purest form, because the source of these qualities and "gifts" come from a God of truth and purity, without the contamination of mans conscious or unconscious motives of sin and selfishness.

42a. Loose morality; profanity; drinking; smoking; into rock music-Beatles; heavey ego trip; ingrossed in sadness, death; hung on my own poetry; dope (a little); active political pacifist

42b. Total turn about - None of the above

43a. I was into grass, and booze, all I did all day was get loaded. I hated myself, wife and kids. I was dead.

43b. I am free in the love of Jesus.

44a. Selfish. Felt like contentment was just over the hill. ok when school was out, when summer came, when new girl came along.

44b. More contented with what I'm doing where I'm going and who I really am. I have a deeper insight to understand & like other people.

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